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THE WORKS OF XENOPHON

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THE

WORKS OF XENOPHON

TRANSLATED BY

H. G. DAKYNS, M.A.

LATE ASSISTANT MASTER IN CLIFTON COLLEGE

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOL. III.—PART II

THREE ESSAYS: ON THE DUTIES OF A CAVALRY GENERAL, ON HORSEMANSHIP, AND ON HUNTING

London

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PREFACE

THE interest attaching to the three "minor works" of Xenophon, translated in this volume, will be found, I think, altogether disproportionate to the length of the treatises themselves, which, if small in compass, are rich in matter of a kind to fix the attention of many different readers.

To the critical scholar the writings, as handed down to us, are interesting for many special reasons, which I need not further dwell on here; to the student of Greek literature they are important as specimens of a type of writing somewhat analogous to the review article familiar to us in the journalistic literature of our own day. As the product of a particular author's pen, they throw light at once on the problems of the age in which he wrote and reveal certain mental and moral characteristics of the man himself. In other words, they have, like all the writings commonly attributed to Xenophon, not only their peculiar literary worth, but also a certain biographic value.

From a somewhat different point of view, regarded as early specimens of what we should nowadays speak of as technical treatises (dealing respectively with particulars concerning the organisation and hand-

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ling of a cavalry force at Athens, 365 B.C., shortly before the battle of Mantinea; horses and horsemanship; dogs, and matters incidental to the chase), they appeal not only to archaeologists and specialists, but to the public at large, and in particular to those members of the community who, professionally or as laymen, happen to take an interest, scientific or antiquarian or directly practical, in the kind of topics dealt with. I think of military experts—members of the mounted service in particular; of the historian of cavalry tactics; of the country gentleman devoted, like Xenophon himself, to horses and dogs, to life in the open air, to sport of many kinds; of non-sportsmen and lay persons, *ἰδιῶται*, of whichever sex, who are fond of animals, or happen to have a taste for natural history; and lastly, in accordance with the spirit of our own age, of the scientific student bent on examining the evolutional side of the matter, whether in reference to cavalry tactics or to various forms of sport; the fixity or variation of equine, canine, and other animal types; the relation of so-called civilised man to domesticated and wild animals. To each and all of these readers—and clearly the list is not exhaustive—our author will have something to say. It is not about the charm and delectation of his utterance that I am concerned; but rather, lest having undertaken to play the part of an interpreter, I should find that I have played it ill, to the detriment of Xenophon and of those "English readers" to whom these translations are primarily addressed.

The text which I have followed, as heretofore, is that of Gustave Sauppe, his *editio stereotypa*, the occasional variations from which, derived mainly from the texts of Schneider or L. Dindorf, are, I hope, always

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noted at the bottom of the page. As classical scholars are well aware, the whole series greatly needs re-editing. There has been no thorough edition, with a commentary, of any one of them, for a long time past. There are, however, several serviceable translations—that of the *Hipparchicus* (with text) (1807), by Paul-Louis Courier, the well-known French Horse-Artillery officer and Greek-scholar; of the *περὶ ἱππικῆς* (with text) (1807), by the same editor and translator. This latter work will be found also translated by Richard Berenger, in vol. i. of his *History of the Art of Horsemanship* (1771); and, to come to quite modern times, in *The Art of Horsemanship by Xenophon, translated, with chapters on the Greek Riding-horse, and with notes*, by Morris H. Morgan, Ph.D., Assistant-Professor in Harvard University. Of this book I cannot speak too highly. It came into my possession just when I was engaged in correcting the proofs of my own version. Consequently I abstained from reading the translation, though I profited by some of the notes. I have since read the translation, which I find in a certain quality of style (which perhaps I may call directness) different and superior to my own. If only for the sake of the illustrations, it is a work which every country gentleman and archaeologist should possess, but further encomium would be out of place on my part here.

Before coming to the *Cynegeticus*, I wish to record my obligations to the three works which I have found most helpful in connection with the two companion treatises already named. (It is a striking fact that all three are by foreign scholars.) These are—

(1) *Les Cavaliers Athéniens*, par M. Albert Martin, an almost exhaustive monograph on the origin, status, and organisation of *the Knights* at Athens from every

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point of view (except that of the tactician, though there is an exceedingly interesting chapter entitled "Rôle militaire des Cavaliers," which contains a sketch of the history of Athenian cavalry operations between 445 B.C. and 328 B.C.).

(2) *Geschichte des Griechischen Kriegswesens von der ältesten Zeit bis auf Pyrrhos, nach den Quellen*, bearbeitet von W. Rüstow und Dr. H. Köchly. To the authors of this work I have had occasion to express my indebtedness more than once. It is still, I believe, far the best treatise on ancient military tactics, though I can conceive a work written by an English or American scholar based upon it which would be of great service to the student. At present, to clear one's ideas concerning cavalry tactics (a small part of the matter, though the one with which we are at present concerned), it is necessary to turn to Arrian, Diodorus, and Polybius, or else to the modern historians, Gibbon, Arnold, Grote.

(3) *Un Cheval de Phidias*, par Victor Cherbuliez. Of this exquisite treatise on Greek art it is impossible to speak too praisingly. No modern writer, as far as I know, has done more to give Xenophon's treatise on Horsemanship its proper place in literature. No one certainly has so clearly appreciated the close connection between Xenophon's fine literary study of equestrian splendour and its loveliest embodiment in plastic art.

The *Cynegeticus* was translated in An ix. (1801), as the title-page has it, by the well-known Greek scholar and Professor of Greek Literature in the Collège de France, J. B. Gail, under the title *Les Cynégétiques, ou Traité de la Chasse, Histoire naturelle ancienne, Ire partie, faisant suite aux éditions de Buffon im-*

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primées par Déterville et Saugrain. There is also a useful German translation, with annotations, entitled *Xen. über die Jagd*, verdeutscht und erläutert von T. W. Lenz (1823). I have further found Eugène Talbot's notes to his *Traduction* from time to time of use. In an oldish book, *Essays on Hunting, with an Introduction, describing the Method of Hare-hunting practised by the Greeks*, by William Blane (1788), will be found translations of some sections of the *Cynegeticus*, with much superlative praise of its author. "I have been, indeed, astonished in reading the *Cynegeticos* of Xenophon, to find the accurate knowledge that great man had of the nature of the Hare, and the method of hunting her, and to observe one of the finest Writers, the bravest Soldiers, the ablest Politicians, the wisest Philosophers, and the most virtuous Citizens of antiquity, so intimately acquainted with all the niceties and difficulties of pursuing this little animal, and describing them with a precision that would not disgrace the oldest sportsman of Great Britain, who never had any other idea interfere to perplex his researches." Lastly, I have to name what strikes me as the best commentary on the *Cynegeticus* which I have ever seen, in the shape of a review article in *Macmillan's Magazine*, to which frequent reference is made in the notes to my own translation. It is entitled *A Day with Xenophon's Harriers.* The author writes at once as a scholar and a sportsman, and the translations interspersed in his text, I must again admit, as in the case of Dr. Morris Morgan's *Horsemanship*, are vastly superior to my own in the way of directness of speech. The writer does not fall behind William Blane either in enthusiasm for coursing or admiration for the ancient many-sided man, author,

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military-commander, sportsman, now a veteran, "toiling up the slopes of Mount Pholoe, and persisting in the pursuit even when his hounds are dead beat, rather than give his hare up for lost"; and thus concludes, "We would gladly end with the impassioned defence of sport which closes his essay, but we have already given quotations enough. It is a sufficient apology for hunting that its virtues found their first exponent in the pupil of Socrates, the leader of the Ten Thousand, the author of the *Memorabilia*, the *Cyropaedia*, and the *Anabasis*."

For much direct or indirect help I am again indebted to several friends, and first and foremost to the Hon. J. W. Fortescue, who, though a stranger to me personally, has been at pains to read a portion of my proof-sheets, and has saved me from slips into which my ignorance alike of cavalry tactics and of coursing hares—"since I am but a layman"—would certainly have betrayed me; to two old Cliftonian friends, with whom I have discussed the technical terms and the relation of ancient to modern cavalry tactics—Major G. J. Younghusband and his brother Captain Frank Younghusband; lastly, to my relative, Captain F. de Budé Young. Their interest in these writings I take to be of happy omen.

HASLEMERE, *January* 1897.

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On the Three Opuscula included in this Volume

A Comment

*** The three works in question appear in the canon or list of works recognised by Greek grammarians in the days of Cicero as written by Xenophon (which we owe to Diogenes Laertius; see Trans. vol. i. note A, i. and ii., pp. xliii.-xlix.), traditionally entitled—

(i) ἱππαρχικός (*Hipparchicus, s. de Magistro Equitum libellus*), *i.e.* a treatise (λόγος) *concerning the Hipparch* (or cavalry general at Athens).

(ii) περὶ ἱππικῆς (*de Re Equestri*), *i.e.* a treatise *concerning the art of Horsemanship.*

[i. and ii. are companion treatises.]

(iii) κυνηγετικός (*Cynegeticus, s. de Venatione*), *i.e.* a treatise *concerning the Chase* (or *On Hunting:* a sportsman's manual).

A. *General Characteristics.*—The treatises are "technical," as we should say, or more strictly in accordance with ancient terminology, "political essays" on "practical" matters.[1]

Among the minor works (*opuscula politica*) attributed to Xenophon, the three compositions now before us may claim to hold a place apart, as being in the modern sense of

[1] It is well to emphasise this point, because, owing to the technical quality of their contents, the literary value of the treatises is apt to be overlooked. See the curt allusions to them in Müller and Donaldson's *Hist. of the Lit. of Ancient Greece.* Professor Mahaffy is much more satisfactory, *Hist. of Gk. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 285 foll. (ed. 1880).

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the term to a large extent technical treatises, since, whatever further object their author had in view in penning them, they deal directly with practical affairs. As their reputed author might himself have phrased it, they embody arguments (λόγους) intended to make those whom he addresses in each case[1] more capable of right action (πρακτικωτέρους), more efficient with regard to matters of such immediate concern as (1) the duties of a cavalry commander (at Athens);[2] (2) the art of horsemanship (from the point of view particularly of a military horseman); or lastly, (3) the business of the chase (both as an end in itself, and further as a basis or means of education). The modern reader should bear in mind, however, that from a more general point of view and in accordance with ancient phraseology, all three may claim to be regarded, no less than the pamphlet *On Revenues* or the essay *On the Polity of the Lacedaemonians*,[3] as "political" essays (πολιτικοὶ λόγοι)—the attempts of a writer (or speaker) who is, after his own sort, at once an educator and a publicist,[4] to deal with certain questions of the time, now in a hortatory, quasi-paedagogic manner, and now with some pretence to oratorical display.[5]

B. *Remarks* supplementary to those already made in vols. i. and ii. of this translation, concerning the *genuineness*, *design*, *date of composition*, etc., of the treatises i. and ii., and of iii., in order. The passages referred to are as follows:—

Vol. i. p. xlv., external evidence for the three tracts (Note on Diogenes Laertius).—The witness of Deinarchus (the orator), b. 361 B.C., fl. 336 B.C.; of Demetrius Magnes (the grammarian), fl. 55 B.C.; of Diocles, fl. 100 B.C. (also of Magnesia, a grammarian), ap. Diog. Laert. *Life of Xenophon.*

---

[1] The hipparch; the purchaser of a horse; the younger generation.

[2] 365 B.C., or thereabouts. See below for this date.

[3] Translated in vol. ii. The *Hipparchicus* and the pamphlet *On Revenues* have much in common.

[4] Like his more illustrious literary contemporary Isocrates, to whose theory of culture he somewhat holds. See Prof. Jebb, *Att. Or.* ii. ch. xiii.; also some remarks in *Hellenica Essays*, "Xenophon," p. 376.

[5] Not unlike a contributor to the *Spectator* in the last century, or as might a modern journalist in a series of letters to the *Times* or in an article for a Review.

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Vol. i. p. xlviii. (Note on the canon).—The witness of Demetrius Magnes, also ap. Diog. Laert.

ib. pp. lxxxi. lxxxii. (Sketch).—As to how Xenophon came to write the *Hipparch* in his old age (*aet.* 69 *circa*), and why he should take τὸ ἱππικόν under his protection.

ib. p. cxl. (Sketch).—Xenophon as a cavalry reformer.

ib. p. cxxix. and note 2 (Sketch).—Opportunity for sport, horsemanship, etc., at Scillus, 387-369 B.C. *circa*, *al.* 368.

ib. p. cxxxi. and note 4 (Sketch).—As to dates of composition: *Cynegeticus* in part *pre-Scilluntian*; *Hipparch*, and περὶ ἱπ., *post-Scilluntian*.

ib. p. cxxxi. and notes 1, 4 (Sketch).—Design and occasion of the *Hipparchicus*. Note 1, a sign and seal of reconciliation with his country; note 4, 365 B.C. (after Roquette).

ib. p. cxxxv. notes 1, 2 (Sketch).

ib. p. cxxxviii. foll. (Sketch).—The author's criticism of Iphicrates at Oneion, 370-369 B.C. *Hell.* VI. v. 51, 52 (Trans. vol. ii. p. 185) ‖ *Hipparch*, viii. 10 (below, p. 28).

ib. p. cxlvi. foll. (Sketch). Vol. ii. p. lxviii. (Introd. *Ways and Means.*) — Autobiographic interest of the *Hipparchicus* and the pamphlet *On Revenues* (πόροι). σὺν θεῷ passage, *Hipparch*, ix. 8, 9 (below, p. 31 foll.); cf. peroration to the πόροι, vi. 1-3 (Trans. vol. ii. p. 349).

Vol. i. p. lxxiv. (Sketch).—Pedagogic style of the *Cynegeticus*; discipline of the chase; scenery suited alike to Attica (Parnes, Pentelicus, Hymettus or Brilessus) and to the Triphylia (Mount Pholoe).

ib. p. clxv. and note 1 (Sketch).—The author's manner of composition; enthusiastic style of the *Cynegeticus*; probably, if an early work, rehandled later; grandson-editorship question. Cf. *Pol. Lac.* (Trans. vol. ii. p. lxxiii.).

ib. p. cxlvi. and note 4 (Sketch).—Xenophon's kindliness to animals and other amiable traits, discoverable in these minor works; his pride in Athens.

To speak first of the twin treatises. (i.) The *Hipparchicus* (and, to a slightly less degree, the sequel to it)[1] is singularly

[1] As far as I know (and I regret to say that my knowledge is second-hand), only two modern critics have doubted the genuineness of the περὶ

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free from those suspicions which we have seen to attach, rightly or wrongly, to many of the writings which the ancient world confidently assigned to Xenophon. Not only is the authorship of the *Hipparch* unassailed, but, as I have already stated, the circumstances under which the author penned it, even to the date of publication, seem clearly to reveal themselves. If it be asked why this particular treatise is less "suspected" than any other of the minor works of Xenophon, the answer would appear to be, not that the external evidence of its genuineness is exceptionally strong [1] (since, if that were all, the authorship of the *Cynegeticus* would have been equally well established—see below), but that the testimony from within is positively and negatively weightier than it is in other cases. The style and manner of thought and speech, the indefinable something suggestive of Xenophon's particular self, the thumb-mark evidence, as it were, on the positive side; and, on the negative, the absence of question-raising topics, eccentric matter, puerile or "sophistic" argument; and summarily, of those puzzling anomalies of style, phraseology, and so forth, which in spite of traditional beliefs and such external evidence as we possess (never very strong, it must be admitted), are apt to suggest to the modern critic, instinct with the spirit of σκέψις, that the particular work before him has either in its entirety been falsely attributed to

ἱππικῆς—Caspers and Beckhaus,—the latter attributing its authorship to Xenophon's grandson, concerning whom see Sauppe, *Ages.* Praef. p. 128; Grote, *H. G.* ix. 246, note 2. Another critic, Nitsche, regards the work as composite.

[1] See the passage quoted from Demetrius Magnes by Diog. Laert. in his *Life of Xenophon*, § 12, and in my Trans. vol. i. pp. xlvii. lvi.: *τέθνηκε δὲ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης, ἤδη δηλαδὴ γεραιὸς ἱκανῶς, ἀνὴρ τὰ τε ἄλλα γεγονὼς ἀγαθὸς καὶ δὴ καὶ φίλιππος καὶ φιλοκύνηγος καὶ τακτικός, ὡς ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων δῆλον· εὐσεβής τε καὶ φιλοθύτης καὶ ἱερεῖα διαγνῶναι ἱκανὸς καὶ Σωκράτην ζηλώσας ἀκριβῶς.* "Xenophon died (the grammarian Demetrius Magnes tells us) at Corinth and at a ripe old age; a man to whom the title good applies on many grounds; devoted to horses and dogs and a good tactician, as is proved by his own compositions; a religious man withal, fond of sacrificing and skilled in the diagnosis of victims; an admirer and zealous imitator of Socrates." He then proceeds to enumerate his works, and amongst the books which he composed (*συνέγραψε*) names, as I have already said, our three treatises, which certainly prove that their author was devoted to horses and dogs and had a taste for military tactics—facts which, however, are equally testified to by almost every one of the works big or small attributed to Xenophon.

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Xenophon, or else been to such an extent worked over (interpolated or mutilated) by some one of his later editors, that it can hardly claim to be regarded as an authorised production of his single pen. Not only, I repeat, is the *Hipparchicus* singularly exempt from such questionable matter, but it is singularly full of Xenophon's idiosyncrasy. And further, if it be once admitted that the work is genuine, its autobiographic value makes itself felt at once.[1] There is, indeed, only one other of the minor works which can compare with the *Hipparchicus* in this respect (and that after a severer struggle to establish its claim to genuineness, as readers of my former volumes will recollect[2])—I mean the pamphlet *On Revenues*, a writing composed, if we are right in so piecing together stories current in antiquity, under circumstances[3] akin to those which induced the author, whilst still an exile, to address a treatise on the duties of a cavalry commander to one of the hipparchs of the year.[4] On this head, and in reference to the date and design of this twin treatise, I may perhaps be permitted to refer my readers to page cxxxv. notes 1 and 2, of my first volume.

It is there contended, in accordance with the statement of Deinarchus apparently, or of the orator as quoted by Diocles (ap. Diog. L., *Life*, § 10), that at a certain date (369 B.C. *circa*), the Athenians having passed a decree to aid the Lacedaemonians (in their struggle against the Thebans), Xenophon (who was still living in exile either in Elis at Scillus or Lepreum, or at Corinth probably) sent his sons to Athens to serve as knights in behalf at once of their own and their adopted country, and that the sentence of banishment under which their father lay was rescinded presumably about the same date, the two incidents being possibly con-

[1] "Profecto quis Xenophon fuerit, quae ejus de variis rebus sententia, brevissimus ille Hipparchici liber (non plus quam 24 paginas editionis Teubnerianae implet) non minus bene quam Cyropaedia docet" (J. J. Hartman, *An. Xen. N.* p. 320).

[2] See Trans. vol. i. p. cxxxv. foll. note 2; vol. ii. pp. lxxvii. lxxviii.

[3] *i.e.* to please the leading statesman of the day—Eubulus.

[4] There is nothing indeed to prove that the treatise was written to a particular individual, and if any one likes to believe that the hipparch addressed is an abstract being, and that the treatise itself is a counsel of perfection concerning τὸ ἱππικόν addressed to Athens at a particular moment of Attic history, it is open to him to do so. But I confess, I strongly incline to the former hypothesis.

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nected as cause and effect. The internal evidence of the double treatise, evidently written by a man of mature age (*Horsemanship*, i. 1; below, p. 37), and apparently addressed to the hipparch of the year during an interval of peace (*Hipparch*, i. 19, iv. 6; below, pp. 6, 15) when there was a prospect of a war with the Boeotians (*ib.* vii. 3; below, p. 23), points (as Roquette shows, *de Vit. Xen.* ii. 24, pp. 95, 96) to the year 365 B.C. as the date of publication, and is conclusive as to the completeness of the author's reconciliation with his country.

Roquette's argument may be briefly tabulated thus:—

Hipparchikos composed after 369 B.C. (date at which banishment was rescinded).

proved by (1) use of particles;
(2) iv. 8, old man's experiences;
(3) ix. 4; cf. *Hell.* VI. iv. 10, after Leuktra;

still more by i. 19, 20; iv. 6, advice to a hipparch in peace time, but not without prospect of war some day against the Boeotians:

ergo, *not* in 369 B.C., when the Athenians had a force of 12,000 men under Iphicrates at the Isthmus, *Hell.* VI. v. 49; Diod. xv. 63;

nor in 362 B.C., when Cephisodorus with a body of Athenian cavalry was before Mantinea, Paus. viii. 9, 10;

but in 365 B.C., when, after the occupation of Oropus, there was apprehension of Boeotia at Athens:

as a fact, Athens, deserted by her allies, *Hell.* VII. iv. 1 foll., only came to blows with Thebes in 362 B.C.;

not after 362 B.C., a time of general peace; moreover in 361 B.C. the pro-Theban party was dominant in Athens: Callistratus exiled; see Grote, *H. G.* x. 482 (Trans. vol. ii. p. lvii.).

(ii.) The περὶ ἱππικῆς. Concerning the tract on *Horsemanship*, nothing further needs to be said in this place save that, in the absence of strong internal arguments derived from structure and subject matter to the contrary, it follows in the wake of the earlier composition, to which, as regards topic, it is clearly supplementary (see the last chapter, *on arms and armour for horse and man*, and the reference, so often cited, to the military treatise, ἐν ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ δεδήλωται).

(iii.) We pass on to the *Cynegeticus*, as to which the case is by no means so clear. I will say at once that I hold to the opinion that this is probably an early work of Xenophon's, re-handled and re-edited, with additions (not improbably) by

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himself or under his inspiration when an old man. In making this avowal, I may add that I have no wish to enforce a particular view of the matter dogmatically, nor indeed do I hold to it pertinaciously, but only as that which, after weighing the *pros* and *cons*, I find, on the whole, the easiest solution of the many and obvious critical questions raised by this highly interesting work. If Xenophon did not write a work on this subject, he clearly ought to have done so; and if this particular work is by his hand, it is unlucky for us that it does not bear what I have called the thumb-mark stamp of his mature style. As I have said above, it is not for lack of external evidence[1] (such as it is) that many modern critics are disposed to regard the work as spurious, but on account of the aforesaid intrinsic difficulties.

[1] This indeed, if any special weight is due to the testimony of the distinguished writer and man of action of the Flavian age, the admirer and imitator of our author, who rejoiced in the *nom de plume* of Xenophon (the younger), to wit Arrian, is *pro tanto* stronger. See Trans. vol. i. Introd. p. xxviii. for a note on this remarkable man. For his imitation of Xenophon and the sobriquet he adopted, see Dr. Leonhard Schmitz' article in the *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Biog.* s.n.: "Arrian was one of the most active and best writers of his time. He seems to have perceived from the commencement of his literary career a resemblance between his own relation to Epictetus and that of Xenophon to Socrates." With this view he published not only several works concerning his master: (i) *διατριβαὶ Ἐπικτήτου*; (ii) *ὁμιλίαι Ἐπικτήτου*; (iii) *ἐγχειρίδιον Ἐπικτήτου*; and (iv) a life of the philosopher, corresponding to Xenophon's *ἀπομνημονεύματα* and other works concerning Socrates, but also an *ἀνάβασις Ἀλεξάνδρου* (an account of the Asiatic expedition of Alexander the Great, again in imitation of Xenophon); and in imitation not of Xenophon, but of Ctesias (in the Ionic dialect), a work on India, *τὰ Ἰνδικά*, not to mention other geographical, historical, and biographical works—some of which are lost—(a periplus of the Euxine; lives of Dion and Timoleon; *τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον*—(a history of the Parthians, of Bithynia, of the Alani); and lastly two treatises, one entitled *κυνηγετικός*, with which we are immediately concerned, and the other a work *On Tactics*, *λόγος τακτικός* or *τέχνη τακτική*, concerning which Dr. Schmitz says: "What we now possess under this name can have been only a section of the work, as it treats of scarcely anything else than the preparatory exercises of the cavalry, but the subject is discussed with great judgment, and fully shows the practical judgment of the author." The resemblance of this work to Xenophon's *ἱππαρχικός* is obvious. That of the *κυνηγετικός* to the treatise before us is still more close, since the one is written in continuation of the other. I again quote Dr. Schmitz: "It (the *Treatise on the Chase*) is so closely connected with the treatise of Xenophon on the same subject, that not only is its style an imitation of the latter's, but it forms a kind of supplement to Xenophon's work, inasmuch as he treats only of such points as he

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What these critical difficulties are will be best seen by considering the structure of the work, which is found to be tripartite; that is to say, it easily breaks up into *a practical treatise* on the chase, cap. i. 18 (*s.* cap. ii. 1)—xi. 4, written evidently by an expert, as any modern sportsman would be the first to admit, in a bright and eager style which does not, however, very closely resemble the style of the ἱππαρχικός or the περὶ ἱππικῆς (there is a great dearth of the particles γε μήν and there are other differences). This treatise is encysted, as one might say, in a somewhat remarkable educational essay (a παραίνεσις), the style of which is very different from that of the treatise itself, reminding one, if of Xenophon at all, of Xenophon the reputed author of the *Agesilaus* or of the *Pol. Lac.* (as to which see Trans. vol. ii. pp. lxiii. foll., lxxiii. foll.). In other words, it is preceded by a curious mythological Preface, cap. i. 1-17 (*s.* 18), and concludes with two chapters on Education: cap. xii., on *the advantages to be got from hunting;* and cap. xiii., an Epilogue (a somewhat querulous attack on the "sophist of to-day,"

found omitted in Xenophon." In fact, Arrian wishes, so he tells us, to build upon Xenophon *re* the κυνηγετικός much as Xenophon built on Simon *re* the περὶ ἱππικῆς. The opening words of Arrian's treatise are worth quoting in anticipation of the view put forward concerning the possibly hybrid composition of Xenophon's treatise, as we now possess it, with the mythological preface and all. They show that in Arrian's time the arrangement of the text so far resembled ours, and that Arrian's literary taste was not offended by it. Whether he was likely to be a good judge of Xenophon's style or not, I cannot say. His own treatise begins thus: Ξενοφῶντι τῷ Γρύλλου λέλεκται ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἀνθρώποις ἀπὸ κυνηγεσίων γίγνεται, καὶ οἱ παιδευθέντες ὑπὸ Χείρωνι τὴν παίδευσιν ταύτην ὅπως θεοφιλεῖς τε ἦσαν καὶ ἔντιμοι ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κ.τ.λ. "Xenophon, the son of Gryllus, has told us what blessings mankind derive from hunting, how dear to heaven also and how honoured throughout Hellas were those (hero) pupils trained under Cheiron in this education. He has told us in what respects the art of hunting resembles that of war; the time of life at which it is desirable to betake one's self to the work, the build and temperament of the sportsman; all about nets also, of every sort and kind, and the whole paraphernalia necessary, and how to set traps for wild animals that can only be captured trap-wise. He has told us all about hares, their nature and how they roam, and where they make their forms, and how to seek for them; also about hounds, what kinds are clever at picking the trail out, and which are bad; and how to detect either kind, by what points and behaviour. There are further remarks about the hunting of pigs and deer, of bears and lions, and how by skill or craft these animals may be captured. As to any topics which my predecessor would seem to have omitted in his discussion, not from carelessness, but through ignorance of the

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"the modern type of teacher," and on "sophistic" as opposed to "cynegetic" education). The style of both these chapters, especially the latter, is un-Xenophontine, though the sentiments are Xenophontine enough.

I confess I find it hard to believe that Xenophon wrote the mythological Preface, which, both as regards topic and treatment, feels to me like the composition of a later age. So might a Greek of the Macedonian or Roman period have written. I am not learned enough to say whether a writer of Xenophon's temperament, either when quite a youth or in a senile frame of mind, could possibly have written in this way. I cannot find anything in Isocrates,[1] or again in Philistus or Theopompus, which much resembles it; though if we had the whole literature of the period 400-350 B.C. *circa* before us, including sacred genealogies and mythologising histories, and in particular the epideictic treatises of rhetoricians, we might very likely chance upon its analogue. Grote, the historian, finds nothing monstrous in the supposition that

Celtic breed of hounds (*i.e.* greyhounds) and the Scythian and Libyan type of horse, I propose to supplement them. I who bear the same name as he and am of the same city [Athens; Arrian was born in Nicomedia, but was a citizen of Athens, and also of course a *civis Romanus*], have concerned myself with the same matters as he from my youth—to wit, hunting, and generalship, and philosophy—and herein I only follow his example who thought it incumbent on him to supplement what Simon had failed to state completely concerning horsemanship, not out of jealousy of Simon but as being of use to mankind, in his opinion."

He then proceeds to discuss the working of Celtic hounds, and the treatise is mainly of coursing, which Xenophon knew little about (see cap. xvi.). In the article "A Day with Xenophon's Harriers," the reader will find some interesting remarks on the relation of Arrian to Xenophon, and his relative merit as a sportsman. If he was not devoted like Xenophon to woodcraft, he was none the less fond of dogs. See capp. iv. v., a touching description of his own favourite hound "Hormê": *ὥστε οὐκ ἂν ὀκνῆσαί μοι δοκῶ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀναγράψαι τῆς κυνός, ὡς καὶ ἐς ὕστερον ἀπολελεῖφθαι αὐτῆς, ὅτι ἦν ἄρα Ξενοφῶντι τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ κύων Ὁρμὴ ὄνομα, ὠκυτάτη τε καὶ σοφωτάτη καὶ πραοτάτη.* "I do not know why I should hesitate to record the name, so that it may be left to aftertime concerning her that Xenophon the Athenian (*sc.* the writer Arrian himself) had a hound named Hormê, the fleetest, cleverest, and gentlest hound that ever was." Aristides, Pollux, Athenaeus, Harpocration, Stobaeus, not to speak of the testimony of Diog. Laert. and his authorities (see above), besides Arrian, quote or refer to the *Cynegeticus* as a work of Xenophon. See Sauppe, *Praef. Ann. Crit.* to Xen. *Liber de Ven.* p. 255.

[1] The language of his *encomium Helenae*, the *τοσοῦτον . . . ὥστε* and the *μὲν . . . δέ* type of sentence, is the nearest approach.

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Xenophon should have so written,[1] but my instinct is the other way. Accordingly I await the verdict of the future.

With regard to the conclusion: chapter xii. (especially the earlier portion of it, xii. 1-9) seems to me quite after the manner of Xenophon, whom I should expect to point the moral of a practical treatise on hunting precisely in this way. It reminds me of the *Cyropaedia*. As to chapter xiii. (or indeed xii. 10-22; xiii. 1 to the end), I do not feel so clear.[2] If written by Xenophon, it was not by Xenophon surely in his youth, but in his old age; and it savours to me of oral dictation unrevised.[3] The sentiments I take to be Xenophontine, but the language Isocratid.[4] So might the old man have growled out his sentiments to a favourite amanuensis or to that amiable literary grandson who was to be his editor, with whom the critics have made us so familiar.[5] Supposing they are an editor's work—say, according to the theory of Lincke and others, Xenophon's grandson—the question is whether, apart from style, there is an echo in them of Xenophon's *viva voce* talk about the chase and its origin, or, again, about "sophistic" *versus* "athletic" training. It should be further noticed that chapter xii., if genuine throughout, carries with it chapter i., unless the words ὃν ἐπεμνήσθην (§ 18) in reference to Cheiron's pupils were foisted into the

[1] See *H. G.* i. p. 551, a paragraph concerning the historians later than Thucydides, by whom the myths were handled: "Xenophon ennobled his favourite amusement of the chase by numerous examples chosen from the heroic world, tracing their portraits with all the simplicity of an undiminished faith."

[2] See Grote, *H. G.* ix. 497.

[3] See some observations (Trans. vol. i. p. cxlv. note 3; vol. ii. p. lxxvi.) concerning Xenophon, ὀψιμαθής, and on the "oral" mannerism of the *Pol. Lac.* "valeat quantum."

[4] So J. J. Hartman, *An. Xen. N.* p. 351: "Non Xenophon libri auctor est sed Ἰσοκρατιδεύς quidam, qui arroganter et rixantis in modum loqui a magistro suo docuit."

[5] See Trans. vol. i. p. cxlv. and note 3; vol. ii. p. lxviii. I must remind my readers that this personage owes his very existence—or shall I say his subjective immortality?—to Grote, who, in a note to vol. ix. of his *History*, p. 246, pointed out that the Xenophon who was the subject of a pleading before the Athenian Dikastery, composed by the orator Deinarchus (after 336 B.C.), could not be the historian himself, but might very well be a grandson bearing his name.

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text by the same (editorial) hand that wrote the prefatory chapter.[1]

As to the date of the composition, I have nothing to add to what I have said in my first volume (*Sketch of the Life of Xenophon*, p. lxxiv. and note 1; *ib.* p. cxlv. and note 1). Capp. ii.-xi. may have been Xenophon's earliest work, composed perhaps (if I am right as regards the date of his birth) when he was aet. 18-20 in 413-411 B.C., and if so, it might even have been published (circulated in some way or other) as early as 403-401 B.C.; but as far as the *παραίνεσις* goes (i. 18, *ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν παραινῶ τοῖς νέοις, κ.τ.λ.*—a note resumed in xii. 14, *ἐρασθεὶς ὧν ἐγὼ παραινῶ*: and again, xiii. 9, *τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν σοφιστῶν παραγγέλματα παραινῶ φυλάττεσθαι*: and finally, *ib.* 17, *τοὺς νέους τοὺς ποιοῦντας ἃ ἐγὼ παραινῶ*), this, I take it, would be quite out of place on the lips of a young man, though seemly and natural enough on the part of an oldish man addressing younger people; and so, if for no other reason, I hold to the opinion that even if the treatise was a work of his youth the author rehandled it in his old age (362-354 B.C. *circa*).[2]

[1] Or it may be maintained that Xenophon is only responsible for the opening words of cap. i., the long list of heroes taught by Chieron being an editor's interpolation.

[2] I recollect that when, many years ago, I first read the *Cynegeticus* as a whole, I was much impressed with its vividness, its brightness, and its air of youthful fervour, and when I came to examine critical views later on, it seemed to me that Cobet (who, I think, rejects the mythological list of chapter i. as too absurd) said exactly the right thing as regards the body of the work. *Apropos* of the passage about the hare which William Blane takes as his motto (*οὕτω δὲ ἐπίχαρί ἐστι τὸ θηρίον, κ.τ.λ.*, v. 32), "The animal is so pleasing that whoever sees it either trailed, or found, or pursued, or taken, forgets everything else that he is most attached to" [or rather "every other love," *ἐπιλάθοιτ' ἂν εἴ του ἐρᾴη*], Cobet says, "Cynegeticus ante reliquos omnes a Xenophonte scriptus est; spirat enim fervorem quendam juvenilis animi *θυμοειδοῦς τε καὶ ἐρωτικοῦ* et in iis quae amet et admiretur modum nullum servantis." It was interesting, too, to find that Roquette's examination of particles pointed in the same direction, but I eventually stuck at the hortatory, quasi-paedagogic tone, which seems to me that of an old man. Hence I finally settled down into my present persuasion. I cannot conclude this note without quoting one of the ablest Xenophontean scholars of recent times, Mr. Herbert Richards, where, in the *Classical Review*, x. 6, he says, in a notice of Holden's edition of the *Oeconomicus*, "It is much to be wished that so excellent a Xenophontean scholar should edit more of the *opera minora* than the *Oeconomicus* and the *Hiero*. There is not

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C. In reference to *structure* and *subject matter*, and the author's treatment of the topics dealt with in these Essays.

*** As a help to the student with the Greek text, chapter, and paragraph before him, I have inserted below an analysis of each of the three works with annotations.

The compositions before us, whether we regard them as literary essays written with a certain "political" end in view, or as technical treatises embodying the wisdom of a recognised authority on military affairs, horsemanship, and the business of the chase, present in common certain interesting features, which may conveniently be discussed under the following heads:

(i.) The quality and distinctive features of these literary essays.

(ii.) Their essential value as technical treatises from a modern point of view.

(i.) Regarded as literary essays the writings before us are, to put it broadly, chiefly interesting, I suppose, as products of a particular type of Hellenic intellect—Xenophon's an Athenian — dealing with certain practical concerns at a particular moment of Hellenic or more precisely Attic historical development. The distinctive features, involving as they do certain peculiarities (from a modern point of view) in the handling of the topics dealt with by the author, can obviously have but one explanation. They are the reflex partly of the author's personality, and partly or indeed chiefly of past ethnical conditions. In other words, some of these distinctions are idiosyncratic, whilst others of them run deep

one of them, even including the *Hipparchicus* and the *De Re Equestri*, that would not repay editing, and some of them call for it very distinctly. The political tracts, whether Xenophon's or not, are interesting and important, yet there has been no thorough edition, with a commentary, of any one of them, for a long time past. The tract *On Hunting*, besides raising some curious critical questions, is fairly readable, and in England ought to be read." It is too late, alas! now to echo the hope concerning the particular editor, but that some competent scholar should undertake to complete the work which Dr. Holden had made his own is obvious. Why should not Mr. Herbert Richards himself? His notes on the *Symposium* in the same number of the *Classical Review* sound now like a kind of pledge.

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down into the underlying base-rock on which the ancient Hellenic civilisation rests—from which (to pursue the metaphor) its eternally beautiful flora sprang, and the supreme genius of the Attic intellect and spirit towered aloft, in a region remote from ourselves and the more sombre splendours of our own flourishing modern civilisation.[1]

*** The following table will conveniently explain what is meant by distinctive qualities due to personal and general (*i.e.* ethnical) causes.

Personal.—The idiosyncrasy of Xenophon, his "personal equation," as we say nowadays, means, as I have attempted to show in my biographical sketch, that he was emphatically pious (his inner self), that he had a natural, or Socratically-induced, propensity to "educate" others (his second nature), and that he possessed to a remarkable degree the shrewdness and practical wit of his fellow-countrymen, along with a sense of beauty only not remarkable because it too is part and parcel of his Attic inheritance.

(α) As to his piety, his *ἦθος θεοσεβές* as the ancient critics called it (see Sketch, Trans. vol. i. p. lxxxvii.), his *δεισιδαιμονία*, as one might perhaps name it, in reference to the well-known characterisation of this same Athenian people four centuries later by St. Paul; since if ever an Athenian was, Xenophon was "reverent," as Mr. Ruskin has it, "of the angels of God"[2]—nowhere does this characteristic reveal itself more clearly than in the tone of the *Hipparchicus*. Note the opening passage:

(1) *Hipparch*, i. 1 (below, p. 1) as compared, for instance, with the first sentence of the *Horsemanship*, i. 1 (below, p. 37), which is

[1] As to "some of the actual truths respecting the vital force in created organism, and inventive fancy in the works of man, which are more or less expressed by the Greeks, under the personality of Athena," see *The Queen of the Air* (John Ruskin). As to the flora and fauna of our own region, the scientific inquirer can see at a glance that certain intellectual and spiritual products of which we justly boast are not indigenous, but are simply varieties or modified species of root-ideas which originally flourished on the soil of Ancient Greece, though others are peculiar to our own base-rock, and others again are derived from other climes. As to military tactics, the root of the matter is to be found in Ancient Greece.

[2] I must draw attention once more to the most intelligent, inspired and inspiring, appreciation of Xenophon's religious nature, with which I am acquainted. It is contained in the Editor's Preface to *Bibliotheca Pastorum*, vol. i. p. xxv. foll.

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after all a sequel,—the one being illustrative of the pious God-fearing man, and the other of the same man's practical common-sense, and both of the disciple of Socrates (see *Mem.* I. i. 6-9, Trans. vol. iii. part i. pp. 2, 3). "As regards the ordinary necessities of life, his advice was: 'Act as you believe these things may best be done.' But in the case of those darker problems the issues of which are incalculable, he directed his friends to consult the oracle whether the business should be undertaken or not." Clearly the purchase of a horse belongs to things in the sphere of the determined to a large extent; whereas "there is a side to strategy which," the hipparch must bear in mind, "the gods reserve to themselves." As a matter of state regulation, moreover, the commander of cavalry would be called upon to offer sacrifice on state occasions, in accordance with the general view of the Greek mind with regard to the sphere and function of religion (see below). The recognition of the importance of the religious initiative ἄρχεσθαι ἀπὸ θεῶν is what marks the orderliness and piety of the writer. But

(2) The same personal religious note is struck more clearly in the σὺν Θεῷ (D.V.) passages throughout the treatise—v. 14; vi. 1; vii. 3, 4, 14; ix. 8 (as I have had occasion more than once to notice), for which the author himself thinks it necessary to apologise.

(3) *Cynegeticus.*—The Preface to the tract *On Hunting*, ch. i., if by Xenophon, as Grote almost persuades one to believe it is when he says, "Xenophon ennobled his favourite amusement of the chase by numerous examples chosen from the heroic world, tracing their portraits with all the simplicity of an undiminished faith" (*H. G.* i. 551), points the same moral, and so do

(4) The passages in the body of the work, which I have little doubt is Xenophon's—v. 14=p. 89 below—"these are for the goddess"; and vi. 13=p. 96, on which I have already commented; and so, lastly,

(5) Also the thoroughly Xenophontine passage: "the pursuit of virtue," xii. 18-22=pp. 121, 122; and the equally Xenophontine conclusion of the tract: "the gods actors and spectators," xiii. 17, 18=p. 126.

(β) As to his "paedagogic" propensity: Xenophon is nothing if not an educator of youth, which indeed is partly his Socratic second-self. It is akin to that φιλανθρωπία, "humanity," of his which makes him kindly disposed to dumb animals no less than to various sorts and conditions of men and women, slaves and so forth (see Sketch, p. cxlvi.; *Hellenica Essays*, "Xenophon," p. 351), and is

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exemplified here in his precepts with regard to the rational treatment of a horse, *e.g.*

(1) *Horsemanship*, vi. 13-16, "the one best principle, the golden rule, in dealing with a horse is never to approach him angrily," etc. (below, p. 52), and is derived from a certain ethnical quality of the Athenians as a people. See the delightful "Causeries Athéniennes" of V. Cherbuliez, *Un Cheval de Phidias*, p. 129 foll., where the chevalier, one of the interlocutors, emphasises the point at some length: "L'équitation est intimement liée avec l'éducation; à vrai dire, ce n'en est qu'un chapitre; comme on élève les enfants, on élèvera les chevaux. Lisez Platon exposant l'art de former les hommes, et Xénophon devisant après Simon des pratiques à suivre pour dresser un cheval; chez l'un et l'autre, vous trouverez et les mêmes principes et la même méthode." See again

(2) *ib.* ix. 9-12 = pp. 60, 61, below; x. 14 = pp. 63, 64; xi. 6 foll. = p. 65 foll., and the tract

(3) *On Hunting*, *passim*, especially the fine passage (already referred to) in ch. xii. = p. 118 foll. on "hunting as a training for war."

(γ) As to his shrewd practicality (Attic ἀγχίνοια): this quality pervades all three essays, and gives them their perennial value as technical treatises (see below), and so, too, does that other Attic quality, that instinctive love of the beautiful,

(δ) His artistic touch, which, however, is so intimately connected with his parentage and bringing-up that it is simpler to speak of it under our next heading.

Ethnical.—Religion and Art are twin characteristics of the Greek intellect and spirit. To these must be assigned much in the treatment of topics which to the differently-constituted modern mind may seem strange and indeed even out of place. Thus we are to explain in

(1) The *Hipparch* the amount of space given to sacred and ceremonial matters in the training of the state cavalry with a view to the processional march. To repeat what I have said elsewhere[1]: the insertion of pompous regulations which have scarcely any parallel in a similar modern treatise,[2] is to be explained by the close con-

[1] *Hellenica Essays*, "Xenophon," p. 375.

[2] Her Majesty's Household troops throw little light on this side of the matter, which, however, in Xenophon's time could hardly have been omitted; or, more correctly, in our cavalry-drill books, among *miscellaneous duties*

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nection in a Greek city community between the citizen soldier's service as a defender of his country and his employment in religious processions during peace.[1]

(2) The tract on *Horsemanship* continues the topic so far as the training of the horse suited for processions is concerned, *e.g.* ch. x. *how to give a horse high airs*, ch. xi. *of a horse adapted to parade and state processions* (=pp. 61-66, below). *N.B.* § 8, "such are the horses on which gods and heroes ride," *e.g.* on the Parthenon frieze.

Akin to religion is art as a second characteristic of the Greek, and in particular of the Attic mind: the aesthetic point of view.[2] Throughout the twin treatise τὸ καλόν, *the*

certain sections doubtless will be given to *ceremonial*, e.g. *parade movements, mounted guards, royal escorts, state processions, firing a feu-de-joie, funerals*, but, with the exception of the last, none of these are of a religious nature.

[1] This, which is a commonplace of philosophers and historians interpreting the ancient world of Greece and Rome, and indeed points to the root distinction between ancient and modern views of religion and the state, needs no further illustration here; but, as bearing directly on the matter before us, I cannot forbear quoting a passage much to the point from M. Adalbert Martin's treatise on *Les Cavaliers Athéniens* above referred to. This work, 600 quarto pages in length, not one of which could well be spared, is itself a testimony to the value which a learned modern historian finds in Xenophon's treatise (see below). The passage occurs in livre ii. 2me partie, ch. x., *Observations générales sur les concours et la part qu'y prennent les cavaliers*, p. 283 foll.: "Dans l'antiquité la religion est partout; elle est mêlée à tous les actes de la vie publique et de la vie privée. La patrie n'est qu'une des formes de la religion; avoir une patrie, ce n'est autre chose qu'avoir des dieux nationaux; être citoyen d'une ville, c'est surtout avoir le droit d'assister un culte public; les parents d'une même famille, les membres d'une même *gens*, les citoyens d'une même ville se reconnaissent à ce qu'ils ont les dieux communs. Une fête en l'honneur des dieux était donc un acte de la plus haute importance. La divinité, ou, ce qui est la même chose, sa statue habite dans son temple, bâti généralement dans l'endroit le plus inaccessible de la cité; la faire sortir de ce sanctuaire pour la promener dans la ville, quelquefois même hors des murs, était chose très grave. Autour de cette divinité, qui était la plus grande force de l'Etat, on rangeait toutes les forces de l'Etat, toute l'armée nationale; hoplites, cavaliers, éphèbes, tous sont là couverts de leurs plus riches armures, parés de leurs plus beaux ornements; dans une texte" (*C.I.A.* iii. 1132, l. 9, "τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐν ᾗ πρὸς τὴν Ἐλευσῖνα ἡ στρατιὰ πορεύεται" [and cf. *Hell.* I. iv. 20, of the processional march conducted to Eleusis by Alcibiades, Sept. 408 B.C.]), "la procession est designée sous le nom de στρατιά, l'armée; aux Dionysies, c'est à l'archonte éponyme que la statue du dieu est confiée; il est responsable de tout ce qui peut lui arriver (Dem. *c. Mid.* 9, scolie)." [Midias was himself a hipparch.]

[2] See on this head *The Greek View of Life*, by G. Lowes Dickinson, an interesting "introduction" (at once popular and philosophic) "to Greek

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Beautiful, ringing changes with τὸ ἀγαθόν, *the Good*, is everywhere the chief standard of reference, but καλόν is so un-English an epithet that it can scarcely be translated without paraphrase, whereby this essentially Greek idea is apt to be lost or obscured in any English rendering; at any rate, it is so in mine. (The Germans, French, and Italians appear to be much better off with their *schön*, *beau*, *bello*.)

Hipparch, capp. 1-3 *passim*.[1]

At chapter iv. we are quit of ceremonial, and the treatise becomes a drill book, concerning evolution, manœuvre, etc., but the aesthetic note καλόν (*pulcrum-honestum*) is sounded spontaneously from time to time, *e.g.*

ib. iv. 15 = p. 17, below, καλὸν μὲν . . . καλὸν δέ, "your game is," or better, "you have a golden opportunity," in reference to tactics of cavalry *versus* an enemy between two strategic points.

ib. vii. 12=p. 25, "the fine chance"; *ib.* 14, "God helping, it would be a feat of arms."

(ii.) It is not contended that these treatises have or ever had any claim to rank highly among those πολιτικοὶ λόγοι of the day, the production of which, in the opinion of Isocrates, the great master of the art of political-essay writing, guarantees to the author the title of philosopher—refused to the verbose or disputatious professor of wisdom.[2] We have hardly the means, moreover, of gauging the value attached by contemporaries to

literature and thought, for those primarily who do not know Greek," pp. 15, 197.

[1] For the sake of the student I append a list of the passages referred to :—
Hipparch, i. 7, ὁπλῶν καλῶν . . . καλῶς : *ib.* 8, τῶν καλῶν : *ib.* 11, τὰ ἐν ἱππικῇ λαμπρά : *ib.* 14, 15, 20, ἀγαθόν, ἀγαθόν, ἀγαθόν : *ib.* 22, an appeal to φιλοτιμία in the interests of the higher beauty, τοῦ καλῶς γε ὁπλισθῆναι; *ib.* 25, καλῶς, ὡς κάλλιστα; *ib.* 26, the analogue of the chorus.
ib. ii. 1, κάλλιστα, ἄριστα.
ib. iii. 1, καλλιερήσει τοῖς θεοῖς . . . κάλλιστα (a passage much to the point=p. 10 below) : *ib.* 2, καλόν : *ib.* 4, καλόν : *ib.* 5, ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς ἡδέα ἔσται : *ib.* 6, καλόν : *ib.* 9, κάλλιστα; *N.B.* *ib.* 10, καλὸν μὲν . . . καλὸν δέ : *ib.* 11, γοργόν, σεμνόν, καλόν : *ib.* 13, πολεμικώτερα . . . καὶ καινότερα, here you have the practical man : *ib.* 14, τὸ ἀσφαλὲς καὶ τὸ καλόν, here both notes are struck together.

[2] See Isocr. *Against the Sophists* (Or. xiii. 391 B.C.); *On the Antidosis* (Or. xv. 353 B.C.); and cf. *Cyneget.* xiii.

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any of these minor works. The mere fact that they were thought to be written by Xenophon would in itself perhaps have sufficed to preserve them, but the gain to ourselves of their preservation is undeniable. What, then, is their worth to ourselves? and at this time of day? Let us consider.

Accidental Value.—It will be found, I think, to be partly accidental, so to speak, and antiquarian. Just as the biographer finds in the *Hipparch* (or the pamphlet *On Revenues*)[1] suggestive material for the study of the author's life, so the archaeologist will find in all three of them a mine of information on a variety of topics.

The *Hipparchicus* is a *locus classicus* concerning

(1) The *Knights*, as an order of the state in Athens,[2] playing their part as a separate class, constitutionally speaking, of wealthy proprietors, with certain political duties devolving on them, and, historically judged, with a certain aristocratic bias politically, and so forth; or again,

(2) As serving in the state cavalry (like our yeomanry cavalry in the days before regular armies) as a military force; or again, concerning

(3) Processions (an integral part of Athenian religious and aesthetic life).

(4) Early cavalry tactics, formation, evolution, etc.

The tract *On Horsemanship* is no less a *locus classicus* concerning

(1) The anatomy, points, treatment, training, etc., of the horse before the inventions of the shoe, the saddle, the stirrup, etc.

(2) Concerning bits and other gear; or again,

(3) Cavalry armour and weapons (at a certain date in history). (A reform lurks here; see below.)

The tract *On Hunting* is actually the earliest treatise on sport and

(1) Methods of sport, at a time when nets and calthrops were legitimate means of capture; on nets, traps, and other gear, now unsportsmanlike, perhaps peculiar to the poacher, but then fashionable.

(2) The points and training of hounds (we are concerned with at least two breeds), collars, surcingles, etc.

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[1] For the connection see Sketch (Trans. vol. i.).
[2] See Grote, *H. G.* ix. 253; A. Martin, *op. cit.*

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(3) On animals (as creatures to be hunted), hares, deer and pig, leopards and lions (valuable pre-Aristotelian notes); clubs, boar-spears, etc.

Essential Value.—But if this is their accidental value *à l'heure qu'il est*, from a scientific "evolutional" point of view they possess a more essential value, appealing at once to the practical expert and to the philosophic student of history in the widest sense. To the military expert, to the horseman military or other, to the sportsman and "country gentleman," they present a side of positive practical value and interest which speaks for itself, and on which it would be impertinent for a layman and plain person to enlarge. Only, I conjecture that the military expert will find the chapters of the *Hipparch* on *reconnaissance* and *screening duties*, along with the scattered precepts of the old general and military reformer, the more valuable, for reasons which will presently appear; whereas the horseman's interest in the περὶ ἱππικῆς will be maintained throughout; whilst, lastly, that of the sportsman and country gentleman will probably be concentrated on the coursing of hares, and possibly the chapter on wild-boar hunting. And so again, to put the matter negatively, least of all will the expert (he who, in Xenophontean language, has the ἐπιστήμη of the matter) or the philosophic student be disposed to belittle the value, let us say, of the military treatise on the ground that the scale of operations is small and the number of troops concerned (a couple of regiments made up of ten squadrons = 1000 men and horses) insignificant;[1] or again, that certain "ruses" would be impossible now with our field-glasses and other mechanical improvements, since even so these instances have their value historically and their analogue in practice;[2] or, similarly, that the methods of sport in fashion

[1] See *Hellenica Essays*, "Xenophon," pp. 375, 376.

[2] Let any one compare *Hipparch*, v. 8 foll. (p. 19, "*mock ambuscades*," "*false information*," etc.) with Lord Wolseley's remarks as to Feversham's dispositions near Keynsham upon a certain occasion as "affording a good illustration of how it is that disasters are brought about; whilst those of Monmouth show how great is the advantage gained by cleverly-spread false information as to your intentions. The general who has thoroughly deceived his enemy has already half beaten him" (*Marlborough*, xxxix. p. 326). This γνώμη is quite in Xenophon's manner; cf. *Hipparch*, v. 9 (p. 20). "In

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in ancient Greece are somewhat *arriérés* now. Such animadversions are obviously out of place. It is not, of course, in reference to the standard of absolute perfection (as if indeed there could be such a thing in the art of strategics, for instance), but relatively and by comparison that these writings are found to be of durable interest.

But not further to labour the point, let us briefly apply the test of relative value to Xenophon's *Hipparchicus* from the point of view of an historical student, acquainted at any rate with the military operations of the Greeks from the end of the Persian wars to the battle of Crannon, 480-322 B.C., as recounted by the contemporary historians Thucydides and Xenophon down to the battle of Mantinea, 362 B.C., and at second hand by such writers as Diod. Siculus and Arrian for the subsequent interval.[1] This period, a century and a half,

fact there is no instrument of war more cunning than chicanery," or again, in reference to a change of arm, the newly-introduced snaphance or flint-musket: "Whilst match-locks were in use, it was no uncommon ruse at night to impress your enemy with an exaggerated notion of your strength by placing lines of sticks, with burning slow-matches attached to them, in front of a position to be defended" (*ib.* note to p. 328). Cf. *Hipparch*, v. 6 (p. 19) concerning a "ruse" practised by two considerable generals, Agesilaus and Antipater. See *ad loc.*

[1] "Le siècle qui va de l'an 431 à l'an 322 est une époque importante dans l'histoire de l'art militaire. Une révolution, préparée depuis longtemps, se termine à la fin de cette période: elle a pour résultat de donner à la cavalerie, qui n'avait encore qu'un rôle sécondaire sur les champs de bataille, une action décisive," A. Martin, *op. cit.* p. 427 foll.; ch. i. *Rôle militaire des cavaliers.* Cf. Rüstow and Köchly, *op. cit.* p. 70 foll., (bk. ii.) *Von der Vertreibung der Perser aus Griechenland bis auf die Schlacht von Mantinea*, (ch. i.) *Geschichtliche Uebersicht*, (ch. iii. p. 134) *Bewaffnung und Elementartaktik*, *Reiterei*, (ch. iv. p. 142) *Taktik der verbundenen Waffen: Dict. Gk. and Rom. Antiquities*, "Exercitus." See also the same authorities, and Grote, *H. G.* xii. pp. 75-90, for the military organisation of Philip and Alexander. The history of this revolution briefly stated is somewhat as follows: At the starting-point chosen we are in the full swing of Doric (republican) tactics, which had long superseded the old Homeric (feudal) tactics. The shock of shields is the great feature of the battle, which is still a chivalrous ἀγών. The effect of the Persian wars, and of Persian cavalry tactics, is the first *moment*. The Persian cavalry tactics *versus* infantry was till the end an affair of missiles and not of shock; irritating but not decisive like the charge of the Numidians under Hannibal two centuries and a half later. See Arrian *Anab. Alex.* iii. 15. 4, οὔτε ἀκοντισμῷ ἔτι, οὔτε ἐξελιγμοῖς τῶν ἵππων, ἥπερ ἱππομαχίας δίκη, ἐχρῶντο, about the Persian cavalry at Arbela when driven to despair by Alexander's hand-combat-attack. The result was a transformation of tactics, amongst other things the invention of cavalry to defend and protect

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practically includes the whole life of Attic cavalry as a military force. The interest of such a student will ere long be centred on chapter vii., which is clearly the key to the situation. The author in penning his remarks has no intention to write an

hoplites. This reform was worked out between Plataeae and Chaeronea. During the Peloponnesian war the function of cavalry and light troops was mainly negative—to defend hoplites against cavalry and light troops. They were posted as a rule on either wing ("C'est toujours la disposition classique jusqu'à Frédéric et Napoléon," Thiers, *Consulat et Empire*, xx. 742 foll.), their function being (1) to engage the enemy's cavalry and light troops before or coincidently with the main heavy-infantry battle which decided the day; (2) to protect the infantry in case of defeat or to enforce pursuit in case of victory. [This rule does not, however, preclude the intervention of cavalry in an infantry battle on occasion; thus, so far from merely skirmishing, the Syracusan cavalry did not hesitate to charge home against the left wing of the Athenian hoplites on the slopes of Epipolae, 414 B.C., with complete success. "In the course of the battle the cavalry attacked the left wing of the Athenians, which was opposed to them, and put them to flight; the defeat became general, and the whole Athenian army was driven back by main force within their lines" (Jowett, *Thuc.* vii. 6).] The Peloponnesian war was a twenty-seven years' education in the art of war, and many changes in all arms were wrought before it ended: *e.g.* just as Sphacteria taught the advantage of ψιλοί (light troops in general), so many functions of a cavalry force were taught (the Athenians at any rate) (1) during the successive invasions of Attica by Lacedaemonian hoplites and Boeotian cavalry during the Archidamian war; as also (2) on the Sicilian expedition, where the invading force was handicapped by its relative deficiency in that arm; and immediately after, during the final Deceleian phase of the great war.[1] In sum: the change of tactics between Plataeae (an unaided hoplite victory over Persian cavalry), and the collapse of the Syracusan expedition, due largely to the fact that the Athenian hoplites were not sufficiently aided by cavalry, implies the recognition of the use and employment of cavalry in protecting infantry in all sorts of ways. This may, perhaps, be regarded as the second *moment*. Another result of the Peloponnesian war was the development of a soldier class. Military service became a profession, whilst the citizen militia tended to be atrophied. The third *moment* is intimately connected with the rise of mercenary troops and professional soldiering. It is exemplified by the Cyreian expedition. Xenophon himself is regarded as the author of various military reforms (see *Anab. passim*), as, for instance, of the attack not in line but in columns of sections, ὄρθιοι λόχοι (*ib.* IV. viii.; Trans. vol. i. p. 205). Note also his organisation of a squadron of cavalry, and the subsequent performances of that handful of brave men under Lycius (*ib.* III. iii. 11 foll.; IV. iii. 22, vii. 24), and, later on, Timasion (*ib.* VI. iii. 12, v. 28; VII. iii. 46). Xenophon's reforms are all in the direction of greater mobility (see note,

[1] For Sphakteria, see Thuc. iv. 31-39. As to the Boeotian cavalry, see Thuc. iv. 95; cf. *Hipparch*, vii. The passages concerning Athenian cavalry defeats in the Sicilian expedition are: Thuc. vi. 20-22, 37, 43, 64, 66, 69-72, 74, 88, 91, 93, 94, 98 (exceptionally a victory scored to the Athenian cavalry, supported by hoplites, over Syracusan cavalry), 101, 102; vii. 1, 4-6, [11, 13, 33, 75, 78-81, 84, 85. The question of Nicias' generalship is another matter.

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exhaustive treatise on cavalry tactics. It is only by the way and in the absence of other first-hand documents that the pamphlet serves the purpose of an ancient cavalry-drill book.[1] What he does propose to do, the task he sets himself, is to give general directions to the cavalry commander of the day

below), so are those of Iphicrates, *e.g.* his famous peltasts "Iphicratidae." The development of light infantry preceded that of cavalry in southern and central Hellas owing to the nature of the country, since οὐχ ἱππασίμη ἡ χώρη (Herod. ix. 13) holds good not only of Attica, but applies to Peloponnese and the districts south of Thessaly to a large extent, and accounts for the relatively slow growth of cavalry tactics in those parts by comparison with the north—that is to say, Thessaly, the free states of Chalcidicé, and Macedonia. Had the southern districts not been so mountainous, no doubt cavalry would at this time have taken the start which, with certain preludings in Thessaly under Jason, and elsewhere, it eventually did under Philip of Macedon and Alexander. To return to Iphicrates, his light-infantry reforms = lightening defensive arms in order to give greater force to weapons of offence. The function of cavalry in the strategy of the same general is mainly confined to (1) reconnaissance; (2) pursuit of the enemy (cf. the saying attributed to him, "the light-armed are the hands, the horse the feet, the infantry the breast, and the general the head," Plut. *Pelop.* 2). The fourth *moment:* After Iphicrates came the Theban tacticians, and notably Epaminondas, whose reforms concern the disposition of heavy infantry: the famous λοξὴ φάλαγξ; weight given to the phalanx, and also to cavalry; the interspersion of light infantry (ἄμαχοι) between the ranks of his cavalry (a reform with which Xenophon may perhaps be also partly credited, at least theoretically; see *Hipparch*). Fifth *moment:* The Macedonian epoch introduces the final phases, and may be spoken of as inaugurating the triumph of cavalry, the national arm of the Macedonian tribes. The Thessalians (the best cavalry folk in Hellas proper) were speedily amalgamated by Philip and Alexander, who together must be credited with the final development of Hellenic strategy in all its branches: Heavy infantry ("Companions"), drilled to the use of the long two-handed pike or sarissa; light infantry (hypaspists), more lightly armed; other "hoplites," volunteers from various parts of Greece, armed with the large shield and one-handed pike; light troops (acontists, archers, etc.); heavy cavalry (Macedonian and Thessalian), armed with the xyston; light cavalry (sarissophori or lancers); an effective siege train. It is said that Alexander first charged heavy infantry with cavalry front to front (as opposed to a flank attack, I presume), and decided the day at Chaeronea. This arm, which had previously been to the rest of the army as 1 to 10, under Alexander was as 1 to 6.

[1] Aeneas Tacticus (see note to *Hell.* VII. iii. 1; Trans. vol. ii. p. 208) is the only contemporary writer on tactics, and a single section of his work on siege operations (teichomachy), *Commentarius poliorceticus*, alone survives. Most valuable it is, but what a pity we have not the other sections on hoplomachy, hippomachy, and the rest. How thankful should we be for a copy of the notes of an oral lecture on strategics by Dionysodorus or some other roaming "sophist," the shallowness of whose conceptions was so great a scandal to Socrates. See *Mem.* III. i. 1; Plato, *passim.*

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which will help him to discharge his duty successfully during his period of office, at a time when certain storm-clouds on the political horizon suggest that Athens, now isolated,[1] with a power such as Thebes in close proximity, may find herself forced to repeat the experiences of the Archidamian war. That being so, the directions for the handling of the cavalry force in the field tend to narrow themselves to the tactics of guerilla warfare. Such are the self-imposed limitations of the writer, who under other circumstances, or as the member of some other Greek state—let us imagine for the moment Olynthus or one of the free states of the Chalcidicé—would have emphasised another function of the arm in which he took so profound an interest. In that case we should have had less of guerilla and more concerning the skilful handling of a regiment of cavalry in the field supported by light infantry (since at Olynthus such was the main bulk of the citizen army). Had he, again, been a Theban, writing in the interests of that power and at so critical a moment, we may be sure we should have heard a great deal more (and it would have been highly valuable) with regard to the improved tactics of Epaminondas, which directly concerned cavalry as well as heavy infantry, the greater depth and solidity of the formation, with ἄμιπποι or light-infantry columns interspersed (to which indeed we have an allusion), all calculated to give the particular arm a separate organic independence and greater mobility in attack, as was presently plainly discovered to be the case on the field of Mantinea. To point out hiatuses in Xenophon's treatise may seem but a poor compliment to the memory of a great soldier, and unseemly on the part of a translator not himself an expert in military affairs. But my object rather is to remove obstacles with a view to a truer appreciation of an author whose work can only be fairly judged in its relation to the time when and the circumstances under which he wrote, but whose right to speak authoritatively I take to be unquestionable.

The treatise, limited in scope as it is, is still a valuable index, the best indeed we have, to a particular "moment" in

[1] See for date, above, p. xviii.

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Attic (a sub-branch of Hellenic) cavalry tactics.[1] Its perusal naturally suggests to the mind of the reader certain questions: as to the history of this arm during the period preceding 365 B.C. (the assumed date of the composition); as to the reforms contemplated by Xenophon; and as to the future destiny of the arm. To answer the first would imply taking a *coup d'œil* of all preceding cavalry actions, and selecting those which throw light on the handling of the force in relation to heavy and light infantry and light troops generally. That the mind of Xenophon was crowded with such images is obvious.[2] Many epoch-making occurrences known to him from history, or hearsay in his boyhood—many crucial incidents learnt on contemporary evidence, or else "autoptically"—many in which he had himself taken his full share, would present themselves to his mind, surveying the whole history of the cavalry of Athens from its first practical organisation under Pericles, shortly before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, to the present moment. But the actual incidents are by no means all. The interpretation of their meaning, the lessons that they taught, the ideal recasting of them as they might have been, the reforms called for—these, too, would crowd in upon his mind, as his historical writings, the *Anabasis*, with the several parts of the *Hellenica*, and the present treatise, testify. And as to the future, certain reforms are definitely stated or referred to here.[3] Some others it is not hard to divine as impending. In the *Cyropaedia*, at any rate, we shall find him giving free rein to his imagination

[1] As to Thessalian cavalry tactics, see Rüstow and Köchly, *op. cit.* p. 247, for the rhomboidal disposition due to Jason. [I assume that the emendation ΙΑΣΩΝ for ΙΑΕΩΝ is correct.] As to the superiority (1) of the Thessalians as a cavalry people, see Thuc. i. 107; Xen. *Hell.* IV. iii.; (2) of the Macedonians, *re* the exploits of Derdas (the ruler of Elimia) against the Olynthians (also strong in cavalry), *Hell.* V. ii. 38 foll.; iii. 1 foll. 9 foll.

[2] Xenophon's *coup d'œil* as editor (?) of Thucydides, as author of the *Sequel* to Thucydides = *Hell.* A, of the *Anabasis* and the *Hellenic History* proper, would necessarily embrace nearly the whole period dealt with in note 1, p. xxxii. He definitely refers to the tactics of Iphicrates at Oneion, 369 B.C.; whilst clearly he has in his mind the affair of Dascylium, 396 B.C., and such incidents as those of *Hell.* II. iv. 6; V. iv. 39; VII. i. 16; IV. iii. 7; VII. i. 20, etc.

[3] The reforms named are (1) tactical formation (Spartan model), *Hipparch;* (2) to give greater mobility in skirmishing and charging, *ib.*; (3) of weapons,

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over the whole range of strategics, and amongst other reforms depicting the future of this arm as capable of being utilised on a grand scale, forecasting, that is to say, after his manner certain historical developments which had been maturing under Jason and Epaminondas, and now Philip of Macedon, and which were destined to reach their consummation under Alexander the Great.[1] Xenophon, as Mr. Ruskin has observed in another context, is not only a simple-minded Athenian warrior and philosopher, but "in the strictest sense of the word a poet." As one who gazes into a crystal mirror, he recalls past images and forecasts future potentialities.

Such are the questions directly suggested to the mind of the careful student as he weighs the subject-matter of this twin treatise. Another problem of a more formidable character yet remains. To the student of military history and the art of war, the resolution of such questions as those above referred to leads inevitably and in the long run to the further inquiry—what light do these old writings throw upon the history of cavalry "ab ovo"—itself a branch of strategic evolution regarded as a whole? A formidable problem indeed, and one to which it is not for me, *ἰδιώτης γάρ εἰμι*, to make more than a passing reference. Yet even a layman may see that the process of strategical evolution, cavalry tactics among the rest, for all practical purposes and in reference to the study of the art of war, like that of any other art, resembles, to use a metaphor, a parallel series of wave-movements along a coast-line,—a tidal progress and regress with a gradual gain and a gradual loss, the pulsations of which depend partly on configuration; that is to say, the circumstances of the particular folk concerned. These are emerging from a relatively barbaric condition—but full of vigour and aptitude; those are at the top of civilised *ἐπιστήμη*, and if regressing, it is owing to some secular change—the spirit and necessity of the times

with a view to shock, *ib.*; (4) use of *ἅμιπποι*, *ib.* In the *Cyropaedia*, a sort of tendenz-historical-romance, we shall have to consider other more questionable "ideal" reforms, such as those of war-chariots, where the poet seems to have got the better of the soldier. Xenophon is like the hero of "Locksley Hall," who, dipping into the future, has

> Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a ghastly dew
> From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue.

[1] As part of the general "Entwickelung."

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—their day is past. A change of arms and a consequent change of tactics has brought about a revolution in the art of war as a whole, or an entire alteration in the relative position of various kinds of arms. So, to take a trite instance, feudalistic warfare was killed by the introduction of firearms. So, to take an instance nearer to our immediate subject, Philip of Macedon overtopped the Theban hoplite-phalanx by improved weapons of attack and a more solid formation than even Thebes could boast of, though the Theban development itself might well be regarded as a *τρικυμία*, a high tidal wave of heavy-infantry tactics, the highest ever attained by the small citizen armies of central and southern Hellas. So too as regards parallelism Friedrich's reforms and tactics in the battle of Leuthen present a striking counterpart to those of Alexander in the battle of Arbela.[1]

[1] As throwing light on the whole matter I cannot forbear quoting part of Grote's famous description of Arbela side by side with Carlyle's equally well known comment on Friedrich's tactics at Leuthen. Both incidents, it will be seen, turn upon the use these two great generals made of a particular manœuvre due in the first instance to the genius of Epaminondas, his redoubtable *λόξη φάλαγξ*, or, as we should say, *échelon* movement in attacking.

Battle of Arbela, September 331 B.C. "As soon as the chariots were thus disposed of, and the Persian main force laid open as advancing behind them, Alexander gave orders to the troops of his main line, who had hitherto been perfectly silent, to raise the war-shout and charge at a quick pace, at the same time directing Aretes with the Paeonians [the light cavalry] to repel the assailants on his right flank. He himself, discontinuing his slanting movement to the right, turned towards the Persian line, and dashed, at the head of all the Companion-cavalry, into that partial opening in it which had been made by the flank movement of the Baktrians. Having by this opening got partly within the line, he pushed straight towards the person of Darius, his cavalry engaging in the closest hand-combat, and thrusting with their short pikes at the faces of the Persians. Here, as at the Granikus, the latter were discomposed by this mode of fighting, accustomed as they were to rely on the use of missiles, with rapid wheeling of the horse for renewed attack" (Grote, *H. G.* xii. 219).

Battle of Leuthen, 5th December A.D. 1787. "His (Friedrich's) plan of Battle is soon clear to him: Nypern, with its bogs and scrags, on the Austrian right wing, is tortuous impossible ground, as he well remembers, no good prospect for us there: better ground for us on their left yonder, at Leuthen, even at Sagschütz, farther south, whither they are stretching themselves. Attempt their left wing; try our oblique order" ["*schräge Stellung*," let the hasty reader pause to understand, "is an old plan practised by Epaminondas, and revived by Friedrich"] "upon that, with all the skill that is in us; perhaps we can do it rightly this time, and prosper accordingly! That is Friedrich's plan of action. The four columns once got to Borne shall

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To come back to our twin treatise and affairs of the moment. "Historical parallels" so called are treacherous arguments to lean upon at best; particularly in the hands of the ἰδιώτης, that is to say, an amateur who may readily mistake a merely superficial resemblance between two periods for a deeper correspondence than the facts will justify. With this caution I proceed to draw attention to a certain apparent parallelism between the condition of the Attic cavalry[1] in the year 365 B.C., and that of the same arm in this country about the date of the battle of Edgehill, A.D. 1642.[2] If this re-

fall into two; turn to the right and go southward, ever southward: they are to become our two lines of Battle, were they once got to the right point southward. Well opposite Sagschütz, that will be the point for facing to left, and marching up 'in Oblique Order' with the utmost faculty they have!" . . . "I know not at what point of the course, or for how long, but it was from the column nearest him, which is to be first line, that the king heard borne on the winds amid their field-music, as they marched there, the sound of Psalms, many-voiced melody of a church hymn well known to him ['*Gieb dass ich thu' mit Fleiss was mir zu thun gebühret*'] which had broken out, band accompanying, among those otherwise silent men." . . . "Nadasti, a skilful War-Captain, especially with Horse, was beautifully posted about Sagschütz; his extreme left folded up *en potence* there (elbow of it at Sagschütz, forearm of it running to Gohlau eastward); potence ending in firwood Knolls with Croat musketeers, in ditches, ponds, difficult ground, especially towards Gohlau. He has a strong battery, 14 pieces, on the Height to rear of him, at the angle or elbow of his potence; strong abatis, well manned, in front to rightwards: upon this, and upon the Croats in the firwood, the Prussians intend their attack. General Wedell is there, Prince Moritz as chief, with six battalions, and their batteries, battery of 10 Brummers and another; Ziethen also and Horse: coming on in swift fire-flood, and at an angle of forty-five degrees. Most unexpected, strange to behold! From south-west yonder; about one o'clock of the day."—Carlyle, *Hist. of Frederick the Great*, v. p. 243 foll.; *ib.* p. 248.

[1] One might perhaps say, the cavalry in general of the small republics of southern and central Hellas. As we went north we should perhaps find a somewhat different state of things. Jason's reforms, which had already come, and those of Philip and Alexander, which were impending, imply certain qualitative differences as regards stamina of horses and men, as also the type of cavalry tactics in use among the Thessalians, Olynthians, and the Macedonian tribes.

[2] I hope the same military friend whom I have before referred to will pardon me if, like Teucer, having shot this shaft, I seek refuge behind his shining shield:

> αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτις ἰών, παῖς ὣς ὑπὸ μητέρα, δύσκεν
> εἰς Αἴανθ'· ὁ δέ μιν σάκεϊ κρύπτασκε φαεινῷ.
> *Il.* viii. 271.

As to the feasibility of "modernising" the terminology of the *Hipparchicus*,

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semblance is real, it may be explained on the supposition that by lucky chance we have caught the English and Attic cavalry (in spite of the two thousand years which separate them) at a corresponding stage in the natural and orderly development of the arm; and further, that the background of affairs—the conditions, that is to say, under which this force in either case was raised (as part of a national militia); the "plastic raw material" "ready to obey the craftsman's skill";[1] the political (or social) status of the mounted trooper;[2] the yeoman-like service; the stamina also of the men and horses; the facilities or the reverse of enlisting the force; the means of its support even to the question of pay[3]—present many features in common.

I presume that though the world has known few finer cavalry leaders than Cromwell (or Rupert as regards dash), though there was never greater pluck than that which the rival cavalries displayed in the field at Edgehill and a dozen later battles, yet no one would select that particular period of our own military annals as representing other than a relatively low-water mark in the history of cavalry. And the same would apply (*mutatis mutandis*) as regards pluck of the men and ability of particular leaders to Xenophon's time.[4] It was in fact in each case a transitional moment in the handling of the arm, both as regards evolution and manœuvre, and in reference to attack. In order to see to what things were finally tending,

he writes: "It is hopeless, I think, to attempt to bring Xenophon in line with the drill-book of 1895; with that of 1645 it is easier; for then the cavalry attack, as in Xenophon's time, was an attack, not of shock, but of missiles." . . . "I may add that the essential difference between ancient and modern cavalry drill is that *now* all changes of direction are executed by divisions of squadrons or whole squadrons; *then* (and in our own civil war) they were only executed by the same change on the part of every man. *Now* you wheel a squadron bodily to the right about; *then* every horse turned individually right about on his own ground."

[1] Think of the "new model" three years after Edgehill; and cf. *Hipparch*, capp. i. and vi. *ad in.*

[2] "The men of honour" and "the staid, most pacific, solid Farmer" (see Carlyle, *Cromwell*, i. 100 foll.); in other words, the καλοὶ κἀγαθοί, and the "Ischomachuses."

[3] κατάστασις, "stoppage."

[4] One thinks of Xenophon and Iphicrates, of Jason, of Epaminondas, all cavalry leaders or reformers.

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we should have to turn over a few pages of history in either case: in our own to the true commencement of modern tactics under Frederick the Great, and again, later, Napoleon; and in the case of the Attic cavalry to the days of Alexander, and later, again, of Hannibal and his Numidians.

Let us confine ourselves to the attack. What was the state of affairs, and what its explanation? The Greek cavalry tactics—as indeed those of heavy infantry, to which it was in the first instance merely subsidiary—still carried with them something appropriate to the fighting of the heroic feudal times. A pitched battle was a sort of collective and multiform duel, conducted in a series of bouts—an ἀγών between two armies in phalanx, supported by cavalry and light troops, placed originally on either wing;[1] and the business of the latter was to skirmish merely, as a preliminary to the real engagement, or, at best, as the infantry swung round towards the right,[2] to take a wing of the enemy's infantry in flank, or to prevent one of their own wings being outflanked; and ultimately to protect their own infantry in retreat if beaten, or if victorious to enforce pursuit. The cavalry engagement was still in fact a species of knightly tourney. The cavalry tactics of the Persians (who preferred not to charge home[3] against heavy infantry) did not in the early days suggest the advantage to be derived from shock, though in his Asiatic campaign (396, 395 B.C.) it gave a leader like Agesilaus, inspired (if tradition reports correctly) by Xenophon,[4] a lesson to improve the stamina of his horses and men, and to Xenophon himself suggested an improved weapon, which in a *mêlée*, such as even the tourney on occasion led to, would enable the Greek trooper to strike home with greater effect. Shock tactics, if the phrase may be applied to the overwhelming crash of a solid body of horse charging an enemy front to front, came with the general improvement of strategics—in other words, the gradual differentiation of cavalry as a separate and inde-

[1] See above, p. xxxii. n. 1; Thuc. v. 67; Aristoph. *Knights*, 241; Aristot. περὶ κόσμου, 6. 399 B.

[2] See Rüstow and Köchly, *op. cit.* p. 126.

[3] See Herod. ix. 20-24; cf. *Anab.* VI. v. 30 foll. (Trans. vol. i. p. 267).

[4] See Sketch, Trans. vol. i. p. cxiii.

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pendent organ under Alexander the Great.[1] The characteristics of cavalry encounter in the civil war, though similar in many respects, and tending to like modifications in the future, have of course a different history. The relatively low state of development of the arm, tactically speaking, is here to be accounted for by the paramount fact that the invention of gunpowder, or rather its application to war in the shape of firearms in the middle of the fifteenth century, had entirely altered the relation and relative importance of infantry to cavalry, and still left its traces on the slowly reviving art of mounted warfare. One trace which directly concerns us is the dependence which the trooper had come to place on the firearm rather than the *arme blanche.* Another will be found, I think, in the formation[2] in which the cavalry squadron entered battle. I believe that further instances of the application of Xenophon's principles to warfare in the last three centuries might be furnished by military historians.[3] But here, with apologies

[1] Alexander's reforms (including the organising of heavy and light cavalry and "dragoons," with their appropriate tactics) lay along the lines suggested by Epaminondas and Jason, the Cromwells and Gustavuses of the time, and by such a Rupert-like person as Derdas, with the cavalry material to hand of the northern free states of Thessaly and the Macedonian tribes. To complete the parallel, as Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg, the Great Elector, to his son, so Philip of Macedon to Alexander. Both fathers had prepared the way for their respective sons by military reforms, and an army organisation which gave a supreme genius for war its opportunity.

[2] See Th. Pasquier, *Esquisses historiques sur la cavalerie*, p. 43, on the reforms of Gustavus Adolphus, an interesting passage.

[3] In justification of the above remarks, the following passages, culled from certain modern authorities, cannot, I think, fail to be interesting. Whether I put in any way the right construction on them is another question. My object is served if I succeed in rousing the attention of more competent inquirers, in kindling at any rate the interest of some perhaps youthful student. I wish to do what I can to set a stone rolling, since, as my friend says, "there is room for a long essay on the subject."

"Seeing the vast benefit which infantry derived from the growing power of firearms, cavalrymen in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were tempted to discard the tactics on which they had hitherto relied, and which were their special characteristic, and sought aid also from powder and ball. Thus it was that the greatest of German soldiers found his regiments, when he came to the throne, halting to fire a volley ere they delivered their charge, and it required all the strength of character of a man exceptionally strong-willed to stamp the heresy out."—Major E. S. May, *Guns and Cavalry*, p. 7.

"The Ironsides too of Cromwell, whom I regard as the best cavalry leader these lands have ever produced, could not shake off entirely the evil

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to the military expert for having so far overstepped the limits of my province, which is simply the interpretation of Xenophon, I desist.

fashion of the day, but when they engaged an enemy were usually drawn up five deep. The front rank fired its two pistols and filed away to the rear to reload, then the second rank did likewise, and similarly in due course the third rank replaced it. When the word was given to charge, the men steadied themselves ere they delivered their onset, fired their pistols and fell to with their swords, supplementing their rush, it is said, by flinging their empty fire-arms in the faces of their opponents! I believe Cromwell latterly understood more fully the true application of cavalry, and discountenanced firing previous to a charge; but certainly the usual tendency of cavalry tactics during the seventeenth century was a false one. Such indeed was the prestige then attaching to powder and ball, that though few can have fallen by them under such conditions, the whole spirit and dash of horsemen were sacrificed in their favour. Prince Rupert, however, whose name has become a synonym for fiery valour, appreciated the mischief of the tendency, and may be credited with at any rate an endeavour to make cavalry rely only on inertia and swift moment in their first onset."—*Ib.* p. 25 foll.

"According to Bulstrode Whitlock's Memoirs, quoted in Gardiner's *History of the Civil War*, vol. ii. p. 146, the following instructions were issued just before the battle of Edge-hill. He says: 'Just before we began our march Prince Rupert passed from one wing to the other giving positive orders to the Horse to keep as close as possible, keeping their ranks with sword in hand to receive the enemy's shot, without firing either carbine or pistol until we broke in among the enemy, and then to make use of our fire-arms as need should require, which was punctually observed.'"

"At the battle of Auldearn, fought on the 9th of May 1645, we read that 'Lord Gordon' (who commanded Montrose's horse) 'by this time charges the left wing, and that with a new form of fight, for he discharges all shooting of pistols and carbines, only with their swords to charge quite through their enemies' (Gardiner, *ib.* ii. 226). Montrose had probably profited by Cromwell's example, but the generality of cavalry soldiers did not." —May, *ib.* p. 27.

And here is a passage from Lord Wolseley's *Marlborough* (ii. 237), "Campaigns of 1691": "At times the two armies remained for days in close proximity. There was a great deal of mutual reconnoitring, the commanders rising betimes to inspect one another's positions. On these occasions there was often much firing between the outposts and what our soldiers called 'pickeering,' a term applied to the practice common amongst volunteers and other gentlemen who followed both headquarters of riding out in front to fire their pistols at one another. In those frequent skirmishes much powder was expended, but little execution done."

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ANALYSIS OF THE THREE TREATISES HERE TRANSLATED WITH ANNOTATIONS

Hipparch

Cap. i. §§ 1, 2 (Trans. p. 1).—*Prefatory remarks* (addressed apparently to some hipparch of the day).[1]

§§ 3-8 (pp. 2, 3).—*The hipparch's duties* (*in general*) in the form of memoranda (*ὑπομνήματα*) concerning, §§ 3, 4, the horses and their feet. §§ 5, 6, the trooper: seat on horseback, good discipline. § 7, the *hipparch*, his responsibility in chief; aided by, § 8, the *phylarchs*, and the *Boulê* (the Senate or Council), in which he must have "orators" who will help to "put on the business."[2]

§§ 9-26 (pp. 3-7).—*The same in greater detail.* § 9, the class of "knights" (at Athens). § 10, legal pressure, where to be applied. §§ 11, 12, moral pressure, on the lads themselves and their guardians.[3] § 13, how the breed of horses may be improved. § 14, vicious animals and, § 15, kickers to be cast. § 16, the author's recipe for strengthening the horses' feet. § 17, how the trooper's skill may be improved in leaping and mounting and, § 18, in keeping a firm seat:[4] § 19, by patriotic appeals to the trooper's *amour propre;* § 20, by cross-country rides, etc.

[1] The exordium of a writer at once pious and practical. As to "date," see above.

[2] As Oliver Cromwell might have said. See P.S. to his Letter ("Eastern Association," 11th September 1643) XVII. *ap.* Carlyle, *To Oliver St. John, Esq.* . . . (*re* listing of his "Ironsides"): "There is no care taken how to maintain that Force of Horse and Foot raised and a-raising for my Lord of Manchester. He hath not one able to put on 'that business.' The Force will fall if some help not. Weak counsels and weak actings undo all! [two words crossed out]. All will be lost, if God help not! Remember who tells you."—*Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, vol. i. p. 137.

[3] Here speaks the good citizen, the *bon père de famille*, the "modern" man.

[4] It should be borne in mind that the stirrup was not as yet invented.

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§ 21, in javelin-throwing, by competitions conducted by the rival squadron-leaders (*phylarchs*). § 22, in dressing, accoutrement, etc., by similar appeal to the φιλοτιμία, native ambition of the squadron-leader, who will regard the splendour of his corps a rarer ornament than his own uniform.[1] § 23, *noblesse oblige*, and they have the "allowance" to fall back on. § 24, a spirit of discipline, how to be created: by reasoning and the "logic of facts"; § 25, the force of example, "like hipparch like phylarch." § 26, let prizes be offered to be competed for by the several squadrons, an *argumentum ad hominem* which no Athenian can possibly resist.[2]

Cap. ii. §§ 1-9 (pp. 7-10).—*Of evolutions:* suited to (1) processions in honour of the gods; (2) to field-day manœuvres, etc., in peace time; and (3) to those of actual warfare. § 2, taking the political division of ten tribes (φυλαί) as the base of the formation, there will be ten squadrons under their respective *phylarchs*, and each squadron will consist of files of ten men (*decads*), with their *decadarchs* or file-leaders. § 3, and ten *serre-files;* on what principle these are to be chosen; § 4, and the ranks between. § 5, of the second captain or lieutenant. § 6, advantage of this formation. § 7, of a regiment of cavalry drawn up in this formation. § 8, and the elasticity thereby gained; § 9, on the march and in battle.[3] The above are fundamentals which

[1] Again one thinks, *mutatis mutandis*, of Cromwell and his Ironsides. (To recall more modern illustrations might be invidious.) See Letter XVI.: "I beseech you be careful what Captains of Horse you choose, what men be mounted; a few honest men are better than numbers. Some time they must have for exercise. If you choose godly honest men to be Captains of Horse, honest men will follow them, and they will be careful to mount such. The King is exceeding strong in the West. If you be able to foil a force at the first coming of it, you will have reputation, and that is of great advantage in our affairs. God hath given it to our handful; let us endeavour to keep it. I had rather have a plain russet-coated Captain that knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows, than that which you call 'a Gentleman,' and is nothing else. I honour a *Gentleman* that is so indeed!"—*Ib.* i. p. 134.

[2] This is one of our author's stock maxims. The language, τοῦτο πάντας οἶμαι Ἀθηναίους γε μάλιστα προτρέπειν εἰς φιλονικίαν, is biographically interesting. See Sketch (Trans. vol. i. pp. cxiv. cxlvi.).

[3] A friend, who is also a military expert, reminds me that "classical models were adopted by all Europe at the renaissance of the art of war in the sixteenth century. Aelian" [Aelianus Tacticus, a Greek writer who lived in Rome, wrote a work in fifty-three chapters on the military tactics of the Greeks (περὶ στρατηγικῶν τάξεων Ἑλληνικῶν), which he dedicated to the Emperor Hadrian: *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, s.n.] "was the favourite author of Maurice of Nassau, and many of Xenophon's recommendations are incorporated into the English drill-books of the sixteenth

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concern every member of the force, if it is to prove efficient as a body.

Cap. iii. §§ 1-14 (pp. 1-10).—*Special duties devolving on the commander or "hipparch."*

§ 1, *in general*—(α) religious: sacrificial, and in reference to sacred processional marches. (β) military: reviews, tournaments, field-day evolutions, etc.

§ 2, the same *in detail:* topographical, order of the *procession:* at the gallop. § 3, position of the lance. § 4, slow march. § 5, a novel element.[1]

§§ 6, 7, (α) *evolutions* suited to "the Lyceum" (*the march past*).

§ 8, gallop down a steep.

§ 9, *evolutions* suited to the δοκιμασίαι (*test-drill*).

§§ 10-13, *evolutions* suited to reviews in "the Hippodrome."

§ 14, *evolutions* suited to the hard ground of "the Academy."

Cap. iv. §§ 1-20 (pp. 13-18).—§ 1, (β) *manœuvre: the march:* horse and man to be spared fatigue as much as possible; how.[2]

§ 2, squadrons to be rested in turn. § 3, *formation* varying with the ground; effect of such manœuvre.

§ 4, *reconnaissance*, scouting, etc.[3]

§ 5, double line of scouts. § 6, topographical knowledge of home and hostile country: to be acquired by the hipparch in peace time. §§ 7, 8, secret service: information to be got from merchants and pedlars:[4] ψευδαυτόμολοι. § 9, orders to be passed by word of mouth rather than by "herald" ("trumpeter"). §§ 10-12, of advanced guards: ἐγὼ μὲν δεῖ ἐπαινῶ, κ.τ.λ.:[5] secret *versus* open pickets and outposts. § 13, "never incur unnecessary danger." § 14, "attack at the weakest point."

and seventeenth centuries. Ten in rank and ten in file = 100 men was a common formation. And as to the *second captain* (ὁ ἀφηγούμενος) or *lieutenant* (in Henry VIII.'s and Elizabeth's time *petty captain*), his place was always in rear of the troops in the old days. The lieutenants of the Ironsides rode there. *Now* they are in front."

[1] Xenophon μηχανητικός (inventive): reform of cavalry spectacle in reference to the practical end in view, and also improvement of the service. One would like to have the history of all this, and the names of the inventive hipparchs. One would like to know what weight was attached to Xenophon's treatise, and whether his suggestions were carried out. See A. Martin, *op. cit.* pp. 267, 268.

[2] Xenophon στρατηγικός, directions based on experience, no doubt.

[3] Cf. *Anab.* VI. iii. 19 (Trans. vol. i. p. 257).

[4] Cf. *Cavalry Drill Book*, Part II. § 4, *Questioning:* "clergymen, gamekeepers, etc."

[5] Xenophon, old soldier; *ego*, style; one overhears the voice of the old sportsman.

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§ 15, "if occasion offers, on both flanks." § 16, "seize a coign of vantage and bide your time." § 17, "always attack a weaker with a stronger force"; *coups de main.* §§ 18-20, lessons in guerilla tactics to be learnt from kites and wolves.[1]

Cap. v. §§ 1-15 (pp. 18-21).—*Inventiveness required of the cavalry general.*

§ 1, relative pace of horse and foot a matter of instinctive knowledge in every horseman; beyond which the commander should be able to recognise at a glance ground suitable for cavalry, etc. §§ 2, 3, he should be crafty and inventive in various ways: specimens of *μηχανήματα.* § 4, the author[2] will set forth the procedure in certain crucial instances. § 5, knowledge of his horses' stamina a *sine qua non:* how gained. §§ 5, 6, how to give a troop an appearance of numerical strength; § 7, or, conversely, to make a large body appear small. § 8, how to work on the enemy's fears or turn his confidence to account. § 9, inventiveness a personal matter, not to be learnt by rule of thumb. § 10, "nothing like craft in war." "Learn a lesson from children playing *ποσίνδα.*"[3] § 11, we must even pray for craft as we pray for other resources. § 12, sea and land may be turned to account and played off craftily, one against the other. § 13, need of *ἄμπποι* to be instilled into the mind of the state by the hipparch. § 14, in all act "with God."[4] § 15, how a reputation for recklessness and a reputation for over-cautiousness may be utilised.

Cap. vi. §§ 1-6 (pp. 21, 22).—*Need of sympathy between officer and men.*

§ 1. Here, as elsewhere, the clay must be ready to the hand of the potter. In other words, the *ἀρχόμενοι* must be plastic in the hands of the *ἄρχων*,[5] who must win the affection and confidence of his men, not only by his greater sagacity in all that concerns encounter with the enemy, but, § 2, as regards commissariat, security of retreat, defensive outposts, etc.; § 3, and on active service by carefulness in the matters of forage, quarters, water-supply, etc.—by keeping an eye, in fact, on the interests at all times of those under him; § 4, showing that

[1] The author illustrates *more suo* "socratically.'

[2] As the result of personal observations doubtless, embodied didactically here and dramatically in the *Cyropaedia.*

[3] For this dictum of the author's and "socratic" illustration cf. *Cyrop.* I. iv.

[4] The author's favourite precept. The personal and religious note is remarkable. Xenophon is a sort of Hellenic Havelock.

[5] Cf. *Cyrop.* I. vi. 20-25. The whole chapter is a reduplication or expansion of our treatise as far as the special duties incumbent on an *ἄρχων* are concerned.

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he can practise what he preaches; § 5, proving himself the superior of his followers in all sorts of physical accomplishments, from mounting a horse, onwards; § 6, and by his obvious moral excellences.

Cap. vii. §§ 1-15 (pp. 22-25).—*Suggestions for the proper handling of a cavalry force in Attica*, in reference to the particular needs of the moment.[1]

§ 1, respects in which a general of cavalry at Athens should excel in dealing single-handed with a rival cavalry[2] numerically equal to his own, and backed by a large force of heavy infantry. § 2, whether offensively or defensively.

§ 3, *σὺν θεῷ*, God helping, the outlook would not be so bad supposing the state decided to sally out *en masse* to protect the rural districts, since, *σὺν θεῷ*, by the blessing of God, the Athenians are every bit as good physically and morally as the Boeotians.[3] § 4, but on the supposition that the old Periclean policy during the Peloponnesian war is adopted, and the defence of the country districts is left entirely to the cavalry, then the cavalry general will need peculiar qualifications, providentially bestowed, of intellect; § 5, and physique. §§ 6, 7, his best chance, to divide his force into a corps of observation to act on the defensive, and a guerilla force for offensive purposes. § 8, watching his opportunity; § 9, when blunders on the part of the invading force occur, as assuredly they will; § 10, to strike a blow and rapidly retire. § 11, the opportunity presented at the passage of a river or defile (*ταμιεύσασθαι*).[4] § 12, the right hour to attack.[5] § 13, harassing the enemy's advanced posts; § 14, and, God helping, *σὺν θεῷ*, raiding his territory; § 15, and capturing frontier outposts, etc.

[1] *circa* 365 B.C. *Situation:* Boeotians hostile; the Athenian infantry retired within the walls; fleet depended on, as during the Peloponnesian war; duty devolved on cavalry of (*α*) protecting the country outside of the city as far as possible, as in the old Deceleian days (a function which the less efficient members of the force may perform adequately, since "fear is a great *συμφύλαξ*"), so that the pick of the cavalry will (*β*) be able to act, not as an army, but as an efficient guerilla force, and harass the enemy in all sorts of ways.

[2] *i.e.* the Theban.

[3] The writer's heart warms with anti-Theban animosity; old thoughts come back to him. See *Mem.* III. v. 3, the same sentiment, *totidem verbis*.

[4] Exemplified in modern times during the War of Liberation at Saranta Potamoi in the Morea; so I am told.

[5] A reminiscence of the author's, 404 B.C.; see *Hell.* II. iv. 6 (Trans. vol. i. p. 64); and again, 369 B.C., *Hell.* VII. i. 16 (Trans. vol. ii. p. 190).

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Cap. viii. §§ 1-25 (pp. 25-31).—*On the superiority of morale needful to such a force*, with further maxims and expedients.

§ 1, to damage a larger force the smaller must make up for paucity of numbers by efficiency. (They must appear as *ἀσκηταί versus ἰδιῶται.*) § 2, man and horse in thorough training. § 3, what is meant by training, and its advantages shown by illustrations.[1] § 4, don't forget straps (the *κεκρύφαλος* [see *Horse.* vi. 8] or "headstall" is a net of straps).[2] §§ 5-7, *a fortiori* argument from gymnastic in favour of hippic askêsis. § 6, that *σὺν ἱδρῶτι*, this *μεθ' ἡδονῆς.* (*ΞΣ πρὸς τί ἡδύ;* reasoning, and note the author's enthusiasm for riding: "here is fulfilled the aspiration, 'Would I were a bird!'")[3] § 7, victory on the battlefield is in itself more glorious than victory in the games: the umpires are gods and award a diadem of happiness to the victorious state.[4] § 8, arguments from privateering; a word in favour of "robbery under arms" in case of extreme necessity. § 9, a maxim. § 10, precautions neglected at times by generals:[5] in attacking a supposed weaker force; § 11, "excess of victory," *τὸ πολὺ νικᾶν*, never regrettable; §§ 12-14, in attacking a superior force. § 15, false ambuscades, etc. § 16, some cases in which a few men will suffice; where paucity of numbers is a guarantee rather

[1] Professionals *v.* amateurs; men *v.* women; winged creatures *v.* reptiles; sound *v.* halt; seeing *v.* blind. Cf. the language of a writer in *Macmillan's Magazine* (October 1896), No. 444, p. 408, "Our Yeomanry": "Their function would be to hang like a cloud of wasps round an advancing enemy, seeing, hearing, and stinging, as their superior knowledge of a strongly enclosed country gave them opportunity."

[2] See *Cyrop.* VI. ii. 32.

[3] Cf. Herod. iv. 132, *ὄρνις δὲ μάλιστα οἷκε ἵππῳ*: *Cyrop.* IV. iii. 15, where the same image is expanded in an elaborately humorous speech put into the mouth of Chrysantas in seconding the proposal of Cyrus to institute a force of cavalry (the Persians have hitherto been a force of infantry): "For my part, my desire to learn horsemanship is so great that I flatter myself if I once become a horse soldier, I shall find myself a sort of flying man, 'a hippocentaur,' that can be taken to pieces at the end of the day's work and be put together again, only better off than the hippocentaur, as I shall have four eyes and four ears, with all the advantages of a horse and man combined." The whole passage wittily sets forth in a rhetorical manner the merits of the service; and, as far as argument goes, is a set-off to the humorous description of the defects of the Persian cavalry from the point of view of a hellene heavy-infantry soldier, in *Anab.* III. ii. 17 foll. (Trans. vol. i. p. 156).

[4] A pretty sentence, even if the wreath be somewhat blood-stained. Here follow further maxims and expedients.

[5] *e.g.* Iphicrates at Oneion, 368 B.C. See *Hell.* VI. v. 51 (Trans. vol. ii. p. 185).

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of success. §§ 17, 18, in case of equality of numbers between the combatants as regards cavalry: hints for handling the force. § 19, and of the use of ἄμιπποι, foot soldiers interspersed among the cavalry:[1] a dictum of the author's, ὁρῶ γὰρ τὰ παράδοξα. § 20, illustrations of the same. § 21, to find men to carry out these dispositions loyally is the difficulty rather than the tactics themselves. § 22, a problem for the hipparch to solve, who must be λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν τοιαῦτα ἱκανὸς ἀφ' ὧν οἱ ἀρχόμενοι, κ.τ.λ., able by speech and conduct to kindle the right enthusiasm in his subordinates (cf. *Mem.* III. iii. 11).

§§ 23-25,[2] *in case of cavalry skirmishing between hostile camps.*[3]

§ 23, the orthodox rule criticised. § 24, a recommendation of the author (see *Horse.* viii. 12 for a similar injunction). § 25, novel tactics.

Cap. ix. §§ 1-9 (pp. 31-33).—*Concluding observations.* § 1, the rules prescribed in such a manual as this are not hard and fast, but to be carried out as circumstances require.

§ 2, of all memoranda the best is: take pains, pains, pains to give effect to what you recognise to be best; without ἐπιμέλεια no amount of correct theory will bring forth fruit in husbandry, or seafaring, or rule, or anything.

§ 3, *on foreign brigades.* An important practical reform: the full complement of 1000 horse might be much more easily reached by the enlistment of 200 foreign troopers (cf. *Revenues*, ii. 5). The foreign element will create rivalry and emulation—will

[1] Tactics borrowed apparently from the Thebans; at any rate employed with success by Epaminondas at Mantinea, 362 B.C. See *Hell.* VII. v. 24.

[2] Curiously appended or inserted here, or have the preceding §§ 21, 22 ["To make these dispositions . . . resolution of their souls"], which form a natural climax to the chapter, got out of place in front?

[3] Such preliminary cavalry engagements, as a prelude to the heavy infantry battle, were common enough; cf. *Hell.* VII. i. 20, where the historian describes the exploits of a small squadron of Celto-Iberian cavalry sent by Dionysius to aid the Lacedaemonians, 369 B.C. The recommendation which the author here lays down (§ 24), and which he repeats below (*Horse.* viii. 11), for the proper manœuvring of such a force may possibly be mentally associated with that incident. The point of it seems to be a departure from pedantic rules. Apparently it was the orthodox fashion for both sides to manœuvre, slowly advancing until they reached the ground midway between the two camps, when they quickened and let fly their missiles, and again slowly retired. Xenophon, as I understand, advises that, instead of playing this game, the leader should choose some moment, when retiring slowly before the enemy or the enemy from him, to increase the pace and convert the feint manœuvre into a real attack. It must be borne in mind that the attack in any case was not a *shock* attack, but an advance to discharge missiles and retreat.

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raise the standard of efficiency. § 4, so it was at Lacedaemon, so elsewhere; foreign brigades pay.[1] § 5, the question of cost; facilities for getting pay out of wealthy old men, orphans, etc.[2] § 6, metic service. § 7, ἄμπποι—where to find good raw material for this arm under the present circumstances.[3]

§§ 8, 9, the author defends his motto, τὸ σὺν θεῷ πράττειν.[4]

[1] See *Cyrop.* for the working out of this idea on a grand scale. One would like to know the date at which the Lacedaemonian cavalry began to improve after the lesson taught to Sparta at Leuctra, 371 B.C., when it was at its worst.

[2] See, on this whole topic, Albert Martin, *Les Cavaliers Athéniens*, livre iii. ch. v. "La solde de la cavalerie."

[3] In these §§ 3-7 one hears the voice of the political reformer of the *Revenues*. See Trans. vol. ii. p. 325 foll., an argument *pro tanto* for the genuineness of that tract if our present one be genuine, as assuredly it is.

[4] The old man relapses into an ancient mood of mind and even mode of expression. See *Mem.* I. i. 19; *Symp.* iv. 48 and *passim.*

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Horsemanship

A COMPANION TREATISE TO THE PRECEDING (see below, cap. xii. 14, *ad fin.* ἐν ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ)

Cap. i. §§ 1-17 (Trans. pp. 37-42).—§ 1, *Preface*, explaining the author's standpoint: Simon's work on the same subject[1]: how to avoid being cheated in the purchase of a horse.

§ 2, *points of a young unbroken horse:* physique: first, the *feet:* an analogy.[2] § 3, the *horn:* "*frog*," the *hoof:* a saying of Simon's.

§ 4, the other points upwards: *pasterns* and *coffin.* § 5, *bones of the shanks* (*metacarpals* and *metatarsals*): the περόνη (*back sinew*, al. *suspensory ligament*?). § 6, *knees.* § 7, the *thighs below the shoulder-blades* (*i.e.* "*arms*" and "*gaskins*"): *chest.* § 8, the *neck* (an illustration, *more Socratico*). § 9, the *jaws:* the *eyes.* § 10, the *nostrils.* § 11, *crest* and *ears:* the "*withers*": *back.* § 12, *sides* and *belly: loins.* § 13, *quarters.* § 14, *thighs* (and *buttocks*):[3] analogy of man (*more Socratico*). § 15, *the stones*,[4] *hocks*, etc. §§ 16, 17, how to forecast the size of the grown animal: length of shanks; summary of points.[5]

Cap. ii. §§ 1-5 (pp. 42, 43).—§ 1, *method of breaking*, not necessary to discuss, as there are professional breakers everywhere, and those whom this treatise concerns are sure to be rich enough to employ them, while giving their own energies to other matters. § 2, but it would be well to give the breaker "suggestions" (ὑποδείγματα) in what direction he is to emphasise

[1] Quoted § 3; xi. 6. [2] *More Socratico.* Cf. *Mem.* III. i. 7.
[3] Cf. below, xi. 2.
[4] This concerns the full-grown animal. It will be borne in mind that the Greeks used entire horses, not geldings.
[5] The author's love of animals and taste for natural history are apparent in these (pre-Aristotelian) observations, and *passim.*

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the training: an analogy (*more suo Socratically*). § 3, there are qualities of temper which the young horse can acquire under an intelligent groom, and should possess before he is handed over to the breaker. §§ 4, 5, hints as to these, patting, etc.: curing "nervousness" by common-sense and gentle handling.[1]

Cap. iii. §§ 1-12 (pp. 43-46).—§ 1, *of purchasing a riding horse*, already broken and full-grown: a *charger*, we will suppose. "Memoranda" of points to ascertain: imprimis as to age: "has he shed his 'milk-teeth' (γνώμονας)?" § 2, "will he take the bit, etc., quietly?" § 3, "how does he stand being mounted?" § 4, "separation from his fellows, etc.?" § 5, use of the *volte* (πέδη) for detecting a hard mouth: obedience to the rein. § 6, response to the whip: an illustration (*more Socratico*). § 7, the test to include qualities requisite in war, *e.g.* leaping, etc.: galloping down steep pitches, etc. (cf. *Hipparch*, i. 18; *Econ.* xi. 17). § 8, "with teaching, practice, and habit these can be acquired, provided he is *sound* and *free from vice*."[2] § 9, "over-timidity" a worse defect. § 10, "viciousness," "skittishness." § 11, "reluctance to being bitted or mounted": a final test of pluck and "last" suggested. § 12, a summary of good qualities needed in a war-horse to content the owner.

Cap. iv. §§ 1-5 (pp. 46, 47).—§ 1 (the purchase effected), *concerning the stable* (stall, horse-box, etc.), which should be under the master's eye: the advantages of a secure position where the food can't be stolen from the bin. § 2, and where, if the animal takes to scattering his food (a sign of "barley surfeit"), the action will be at once detected, and veterinary aid called in, if necessary: a medical note: analogy of human subject.[3] § 3, food and exercise: construction of the floor: to prevent damp, and to harden the feet. § 4, "Grooming" after the morning's feed: best type of stable-yard: the author repeats with slightly more detail a plan of his own (as suggested in the *Hipparch*, i. 16, p. 6, above) for hardening the hoof, § 5, and frog:[4] of "suppling" the mouth.

Cap. v. §§ 1-10 (pp. 47-49).—*Daily duties of the groom* in attendance on a horse: "never to knot the halter at the point where the headstall is

[1] The good sense and humanity of the author himself are obvious here and throughout these treatises *passim*.

[2] Sagacious observations.

[3] It would be interesting to collect passages showing Xenophon's acquaintance with the art of healing (medicine and surgery) throughout his writings.

[4] As the Greeks did not shoe their horses, this was of supreme importance, of course.

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attached to the horse's head," to avoid setting up sores. § 2, "to carry out the dung and litter to a set place daily." § 3, to attach the muzzle when taking him out to groom or to the rolling-ground, or indeed anywhere, as a safeguard against savage outbursts.[1] § 4, "in tying him up, to fasten the halter at a point above his head." § 5, "to begin with the head and mane in rubbing down and cleansing various parts of the body": observations as to hairy parts. § 6, the head to be drenched with water simply: so the forelock: use of the forelock to the animal (a naturalist's observation). § 7, so, too, the tail and mane. § 8, mane, forelock, and tail given for the sake of pride and ornament: a current belief and custom in proof that the mare takes pride in her flowing mane. §§ 9, 10, washing of legs, hoofs, and belly to be dispensed with: rubbing and currying by hand recommended.

Cap. vi. §§ 1-16 (pp. 50-52).—*The same topic continued.* §§ 1, 2, posture to be observed by the groom in currying, etc., to avoid kicks and to enable him to clean the frog by folding back the hoof. § 3, "always approach from the side." § 4, "do not lead the horse behind": § 5, "nor let him go forward on a long rein." § 6, "lead from the side": advantage of these rules. § 7, rules for inserting the bit. § 8, an infallible method when the horse refuses. § 9, two fundamental lessons of the stable—(1) never to lead the horse by a single rein of the bridle, for fear of spoiling his mouth: (2) to judge at what distance from the corners of the mouth to keep the bit: and why. § 10, supreme importance of getting the horse to take the bit readily. § 11, the best method of habituating him, through pleasant associations.[2] § 12, the groom should know how to give a leg up in the Persian fashion of mounting, in case of need.[3] § 13, the golden rule, never to approach a horse in anger, a dictum of the author's as to ὀργή.[4] §§ 14, 15, intelligent (and humane) treatment of a nervous horse based on association of ideas.[5] § 16, if the groom knows how to make the horse lower his back (ὑποβιβάζεσθαι) to facilitate mounting, good; but the horseman should learn to

[1] See above, i. 15 and iii. 10; below, ix. 12. We are concerned with stallions.

[2] Here, and elsewhere, Xenophon shows not only his intelligence of animals, but as to a sound system of education. See §§ 13-15.

[3] See above, *Hipparch*, i. 17. It will be borne in mind that the Greeks had no stirrups.

[4] See ref. *ad loc.*

[5] Cf. *Hunting*, vii. 12.

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vault on to horseback unaided, and for good reasons; and from the off side as well as the near; see below, vii. 3.[1]

Cap. vii. §§ 1-19 (pp. 52-56).—*Directions for the rider (a cavalry soldier).* § 1, methods of mounting. § 2, the right posture. § 3, he should learn to mount also on the off side. § 4, which may be of great service in the field. § 5, seat on horseback: firm adhesion of the thighs a *sine qua non* for delivering a sabre-cut or hurling the javelin.[2] § 6, posture of leg below the thigh, § 7, and of body above the hips, supple. § 8, of steadying the horse whilst taking the reins, grasping the lance, etc. § 9, the reins. § 10, pace at starting, how to hold the reins. § 11, of falling into the trot (leading on the left foot). § 12, quickening to the gallop. § 13, of the exercise called the πέδη (volte?). § 14, the longitudinal better than the circular. § 15, the horse to be "supported" at the turns. § 16, of collecting, § 17, and putting him to the gallop, as a practice for the charges and retirings of the cavalry skirmish. § 18, further exercises. § 19, of dismounting: "choose the scene of his exertions as the place at which to dismiss him" (on the "association of ideas" principle of education; see above, ii. 5, vi. 10; below, viii. 10, x. 13; *Econ.* xiii. 6 foll.).

Cap. viii. §§ 1-14 (pp. 56-59).—*Of training the horse in various exercises* with a view to the emergencies of war. § 1, to race up and down hill: take fences, etc. § 2, this is not a mere repetition of the topic handled, *e.g.* above (in iii. 7, 8), but a direction to

[1] As the Greeks had no stirrups, the horseman must mount (1) either unaided in the manner described vii. 1 (the correct method for an athletic man); or (2) vault on to horseback by help of his spear (*ib.*), (and if the animal were of large build, a horse of the best Thessalian (or Macedonian) breed, of the Bucephalus type, such aid would clearly be a gain, however superfluous in the case of the small "cobby" horse of this treatise, "such as we see represented on the Elgin Marbles," according to Stonehenge and other authorities); or (3) by aid of an ἀναβολεύς, skilled to give the horseman a leg up "in the Persian fashion" (vi. 12; cf. Arrian, *Anab.* I. xv. 8; IV. xiii. 1; Livy, xxxi. 37); or, doubtless (4), by means of a natural bank or artificial mounting block, such as Caius Gracchus supplied the streets of Rome with (Plut. *C. Grac.* vii.). The horse, on his side, could be trained (1) to lower his back (ὑποβιβάζεσθαι) by stretching out his forelegs and spreading his hind-quarters; or (2) to bend his knees as if about to kneel (ὀκλάζειν) in a crouching attitude. For this whole matter, see Courier, *op. cit.*, *trad.* p. 64, note 1; note, *ad loc.* p. 93; A. Martin, *op. cit.* p. 399; Morris H. Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 137 foll., and woodcuts there given.

[2] It will be borne in mind that the trooper derived no assistance from stirrup or saddle-bow, the "saddle" being nothing more than a quilted saddle-cloth, so strapped that it should not slip.

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the horseman how to train his horse, *e.g.* §§ 3, 4, to leap, first, by the leading rein, etc. § 5, secondly, with the rider on his back. § 6, how to force the pace down hill: "first teach him on soft ground"; no risk: witness the Persians and Odrysians.[1] § 7, of the horseman's posture, balance, etc., in galloping and, § 8, in leaping, etc. § 9, these exercises to be varied as much as possible as regards place and duration. § 10, *venatio belli meditatio*, hunting a martial exercise in itself, where possible, or, failing that opportunity, sham fights of a couple of horsemen.[2] § 11, rules for both combatants at the grip. § 12, skirmishing tactics.[3] §§ 13, 14, the right principle of education in dealing with animals[4] (incapable of appeals to reason through λόγος by rewards and penalties through association of ideas).

Cap. ix. §§ 1-12 (pp. 59-61).—*Treatment of a spirited* (and, again, *of a sluggish*) *horse.*

§ 1, recapitulatory: topics treated of—(1) hints for purchasing a colt; (2) hints for purchasing a full-grown horse; (3) of management; (4) of a charger's accomplishments. New topic: how to deal with a horse of a particular sort, fiery or, again, sluggish.

§ 2, temper or spirit in a horse defined by help of an analogy (*more Socratico*).

§ 3, "minimise annoyance by quiet procedure." § 4, avoiding sudden "fits and starts." § 5, coaxing him to calm down. § 6, the right method, § 7, and the wrong, of toning down his spirit. § 8, "don't indulge his eagerness to race." § 9, "trust to a 'smooth' bit and a light hand": the rider must habituate himself to keep a quiet seat, etc.[5] § 10, *à propos* of the conventional lip and palate sounds for quieting and rousing the horse, which are a matter of association merely. § 11, the author suggests that when the fiery war-horse hears the clarion and the shout of battle, and would naturally begin to paw the ground, etc., then is the right moment to avoid excitement: halt and rest him, and give him a feed. § 12, but really an over-spirited horse is not suitable for the purposes of war. As to the sluggish animal, a directly converse treatment is the only thing.

[1] A reminiscence of old days possibly. See Sketch, Trans. vol. i. p. cix.; *Hell.* III. ii. 2 (Trans. vol. ii. p. 11).

[2] Cf. *Cyrop.* II. iii. 17-20, an infantry sham fight.

[3] See note to *Hipparch*, viii. 23, above.

[4] Cf. modern Greek τὸ ἄλογον, *i.e. l'animal par excellence*=the horse.

[5] Xenophon is nothing if not pedagogic. Such self-restraint will become a second nature, and the horse will catch the infection of the rider's tranquil manner.

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Cap. x. §§ 1-17 (pp. 61-64).—*How to give a horse (a charger) "high airs."* § 1, a proud carriage, how given: the wrong principle (§ 2, pulling at the mouth with the bit: applying spur and whip, with results the opposite of those desired). § 3, the right (riding on a loose rein, permitting the horse freedom to arch his neck, etc.), § 4, imitated from nature (*note* the "airs" assumed by a stallion in the presence of mares). § 5, in fact, not to do violence to nature, but to consult her and follow her lead at every turn, that is the one principle never to be lost sight of.[1] § 6, artificial aids, *e.g.* of the bit: two sorts of bit—the rough and the smooth. § 7, the latter furnished with large *discs;* the use of these. § 8, the bit must be flexible (a "Socratic" illustration). § 9, and so serve as a *player.* § 10, a flexible bit described: also, § 11, a stiff bit. § 12, in training him to proud action by means of the bit, the same system of rewards is to be used as *supra.* § 13, "association of ideas." § 14, a swift pace natural to the horse in liberty: but remember μηδὲν ἄγαν, "don't overdo it." § 15,[2] presuming he has got the first lesson of the riding-school (see above, vii. 17) well by heart (the *passade*); § 16, he is ripe to practise the airs we are here concerned with (the *pesade, curvet*, etc.): a concrete presentation of the same. § 17, effect on the spectators.[3]

Cap. xi. §§ 1-13 (pp. 64-66).—*Of a horse adapted to parade and state processions.* § 1, a horse for processions (πομπικός),[4] a high-stepping prancer (μετέωρος), brilliant, splendid animal (λαμπρός), must combine qualities of soul and body of a high order. § 2, what shape best: flexible legs not everything, but he must have supple haunches. § 3, artificial aids to assist these airs. § 4, other methods. § 5, the secret of education, in the author's opinion. § 6, a dictum of Simon's as to wrong and right method of teaching: illustration from dancing: "what we need is that the horse should of his own accord exhibit his finest airs and paces at set signals."[5] § 7, how this spontaneous display of his finest airs may be made agreeable to the horse, and with what splendid artistic effect.

[1] Xenophon is an artist with a sympathetic eye for animals: a naturalist also with a scientific (psychologically correct) instinct for methods of training. See Victor Cherbuliez, *Un Cheval de Phidias*, p. 143 foll.

[2] See Berenger, *The History and Art of Horsemanship*, vol. ii. "the Manège," ch. xv. of *Passades;* ch. xvi. of *Pesades;* also ch. xx. of *Caprioles.*

[3] See V. Cherbuliez, *op. cit.* p. 148. These sections are a splendid bit of word-painting on the part of the author, who is at once enthusiastic and naturalistic.

[4] See A. Martin on the force of this epithet, *op. cit.* p. 206.

[5] See Berenger, *op. cit.* ii. p. 109.

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§ 8, "such are the horses on which gods and heroes are represented as riding."[1] § 9, a scene in the streets and squares of Athens: the crowd looking on: folk of all ages feasting their eyes on a curveting war-horse: one hears the exclamations! (cf. Theocr. xv. 53: ὀρθὸς ἀνέστα ὁ πύρρος· ἴδ' ὡς ἄγριος).[2] § 10, the squadron-leader (*phylarch*) or a general of cavalry (*hipparch*) mounted on such a horse must not be content with his personal display. § 11, his troop must be considered. § 12, "the collective thud, the general neighing and snorting, and the stately forward movement of the whole company," important to the pageant. § 13, one word more: a piece of practical advice from an economical point of view.

Cap. xii. §§ 1-14 (pp. 67-69).—*On the arming of a cavalry soldier and his charger.*

§ 1, *defensive armour:* the *thorax* (or "*corselet*"), well fitting: with, § 2, *throat-piece.* § 3, *Boeotian helmet.* § 4, *lower part of the mail coat*, how to be constructed: "flaps."[3] § 5, the *sleeve* or *gauntlet* (τὴν χεῖρα) on the left arm. § 6, for the right, *a wing-like apparatus appended to the corselet* (at the shoulder). § 7, and on the arm itself a *sort of greave.* § 8, the horse's armour: *frontlet, breastplate,* and *thigh-pieces*, serving as *cuirass* for the trooper himself. § 9, the saddle a quilted saddle-cloth. § 10, shins and feet protected by *leathern gaiters.* The above, θεῶν ἴλεων ὄντων, will serve as defensive armour. § 11, weapons of offence: a μάχαιρα, *machaera*, "bill" (or "sabre"), rather than a ξίφος, *xiphos*, "straight sword." § 12, two παλτὰ κρανέϊνα (*darts*) "*of cornel wood,*" in place of a single δόρυ καμάκινον, "reed spear," recommended: why.[4] § 13,

[1] *e.g.* on the frieze of the Parthenon.

[2] This fine study of collective equestrian splendour and effect is comparable (in literature to the description of the war-horse in the Book of Job, and still more exactly) in plastic art to the Parthenon frieze. § 9, it shows how naturally the artistic soul will have its say in an Athenian. Moreover, the individual leads up to the collective capacity. Other voices besides that of the artist make themselves heard: the good citizen's, the cavalry expert's, the kindly father's, and preceptor's. (*N.B.* the transition to the second person singular, ἐὰν ἡγῇ αὐτοῖς οὕτως, § 12.) But the author does not end on this note: his last word, § 13, is practical—Socratic—and (such is his idiosyncrasy) religious, ἢν μή τι δαιμόνιον κωλύῃ (*sic* Xenophon, *passim;* and below, xii. 11, θεῶν ἴλεων ὄντων. See his own apology for the repetition of the phrase σὺν θεῷ πράττειν in the companion treatise, ix. 8).

[3] See Rüstow and Köchly, A. Martin, Morris H. Morgan, *ad loc.*

[4] In the *Cyropaedia*, I. ii. 9, he arms the Persian cavalry with two παλτά of cornel wood. Is this ideal and Xenophontine? or is it "historic" and Oriental (the national Persian arm), and did Xenophon get the hint from

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long-range shooting recommended: why: attitude in taking aim, etc. § 14, thus far for an *ἰδιώτης*, a private individual: special companion treatise gives details for "hipparch," *quem vid.*[1]

Persia? Was it in that case a "Cyreian" invention?—traditionally so regarded, I mean. See the important passage in *Hell.* III. iv. 14, describing a brush between Persian and Hellenic cavalry in the neighbourhood of Dascylium (Agesilaus' campaign in Asia, 396, 395 B.C.), in which the latter were worsted, being armed with *δόρατα* (*καμάκινα*), which snapped at the first onset, whilst the Persians carried *κρανέϊνα παλτά*. It looks as if Xenophon wished to improve the Hellenic by adopting the Persian arm.

[1] *ἐν ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ δεδήλωται*, in reference to the author's (earlier) tract on the duties of a cavalry commander.

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Cynegeticus: a Tract on Hunting

Cap. i. §§ 1-17 (Trans. pp. 73-77).—*Proem* concerning the mystery of hunting and other chivalrous pursuits: the divine invention of the chase, and of the heroes trained in this school by the centaur Cheiron (see below, xiii. 6).

§ 18 (p. 77).—παραίνεσις, *personal exhortation of the author* (or his editor), ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν παραινῶ, κ.τ.λ. :" "do not despise hunting, or the rest of a noble education! that is my advice to the young."

Cap. ii. §§ 1-9 (pp. 77-79).—*Practical details.* § 1, the time of life at which to begin hunting. § 2, equipment. § 3, the net-keeper. §§ 4-8, *nets*, three sorts of: "small," "road," and "haye": their construction: props and manner of fixing. § 9, bags and bill-hooks.

Cap. iii. §§ 1-11 (pp. 79-83).—*Of hounds suited to the chase* (*i.e.* "harriers"), "Castorian" and "Alopecid." §§ 2, 3, defects, physical and moral, which hounds are liable to. §§ 4-10, discovered in their several modes of hunting a line of scent. § 11, whether natural or the result of bad training, a stumbling-block to the keen sportsman.

Cap. iv. §§ 1-8 (pp. 83-86).—*Characteristics, bodily and other, of a good hound.* § 1, points in detail. § 2, summarily. § 3, in following up a line of scent.[1] § 4, behaviour when the hare is seen. § 5,

[1] ἰχνευτεύωσαν, we are concerned chiefly with nose work, though at times the language is suggestive of the eye. Indeed, in his descriptions Xenophon seems to picture the hare going through her doubles and twistings rather than the hounds unravelling the line. Still his enthusiasm for nose work is patent. Note that he will not let his men halloo if they catch a view of the hare (v. 15), wishing his hounds [illegible] hunt with their eyes but their noses; on the other hand, it is clear that [illegible] were bred some for nose and others for speed. See *Mem.* III. xi. 8 [illegible]ersian I. vi. 40.

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when once she is off, *διωκόντων*. § 6, of four points in particular. §§ 7, 8, as to colour and hair.

§ 9-11 (p. 86).—*As to ground and season.* § 9, the scene: hills and fells better than fields and low-lying farm-lands. § 10, advantage of rough ground for working the pack. § 11, times vary with the season of the year.

Cap. v. §§ 1-34 (pp. 86-93).—*Concerning the hare.* § 1, effects of season, etc., on tracks and scent; § 2, and the nose of the hound. § 3, effect of moisture on scent, § 4, of rains: full moonlight unfavourable (a pretty picture "among the trees of the forest, where the fox and the hare bid each other good-night"). § 5, how scent lies at different seasons of the year. § 6, convoluted tracks in spring (the "coupling" season). § 7, scent of the line leading to the hare in form lies longer than that of a hare on the run: why: how the nature of the ground affects scent. § 8,[1] puss's resting-places. § 9, predilections of the hare in constructing her form: behaviour when on the run. § 10,[2] posture of the hare when reclining. § 11, motion of the eyelids, awake: of nostrils, asleep. § 12, preference for lowlands in spring: unwilling to start from her form when dogs are near her. § 13, fecundity of the hare: scent of leverets.[3] § 14, "These are for the goddess": yearlings flag after first ring. § 15, how to proceed with the pack in following up scent. § 16, the creature's dread of eagles overhead and of the hounds at her feet. § 17,[4] which hares give the best chase. § 18, facilities according to colour, etc., of the ground. § 19, behaviour of the hare towards hounds: "playing the mannikin." § 20, "danger deviseth shifts." § 21, which make the longest burst, which the shortest. § 22, two kinds (varieties? or species?) of hare.[5]

[1] Good specimen of "enthusiastic" style. [2] A naturalist's note.

[3] Xenophon *qua* naturalist is a forerunner of Aristotle.

[4] The epithets *ὄρειοι, πεδινοί, ἕλειοι, πλάνητες* (= *δρομαῖοι, supra*?) do not point to differences of species, but of temporary habitat, I take it. Cf. *infra*, § 22. Xenophon is often obscure in this way.

[5] *δύο δὲ καὶ τὰ γένη ἐστὶν αὐτῶν.* Is Xenophon to be relied on? A friend writes to me: "Possibly the distinction is rather fanciful than otherwise. It is an old failing, I believe, of crude naturalists to subdivide species unduly. I have heard vehement discussions over the corpses of woodcocks as to whether two birds, from a slight difference in length of bill, were of distinct breeds. Hares of the mountain and plain might well bear different fur." See further the *Natural History of the Hare* (*Fur and Feather Series*), by the Rev. H. A. Macpherson, chap. i. "Studies in Hare Life." This writer, speaking of *the brown hare*,[1] says, p. 3 foll.: "It is not a native of Ireland.

[1] *Lepus timidus*, Linnaeus.

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§ 23, distinguishing marks.[1] § 24,[2] islands favourable to increase of the small kind, owing to the absence of foxes and eagles, those birds frequenting high mountains, which are rarely a feature of small islands. § 25, hares practically "protected" in most of the islands for various reasons. § 26, defective eyesight of the hare to be explained by the construction of the organ, etc. § 27, and other peculiarities of the animal, asleep and in movement.[3] § 28, alarm at its pursuers robs the timid creature of prescience.[4] § 29, it would easily escape if only it held on uphill, instead of circling round and making for its home: seldom fairly run down, but, when

. . . Elsewhere in Europe the brown hare seems to be at home, in all the more temperate countries. It shows a decided aversion to damp climates, thriving best in a moderately dry atmosphere. The high mountains and bleak plateaus of Central and Northern Europe are naturally ill adapted to the constitution of the brown hare. *Accordingly this animal is replaced in elevated or inclement regions by the blue or variable hare,*[1] which contrives to pick up a living in the most desolate and forbidding districts. It is this animal which takes the place of the brown hare in Ireland.[2] Some naturalists have separated the Irish variety of the variable hare from the typical form, but it is questionable whether such a step can be considered prudent. As for the brown hare, it must be said that considerable differences exist between examples obtained in Northern and Southern Europe. . . . We are thrown back upon the conclusion of Blasius, who investigated the subject some years ago. The skins which he examined had been obtained from different parts of Europe. Their study induced him to believe that we should recognise three distinct races of the brown hare. Of these, the form with which Englishmen are least acquainted is the hare of North-East Europe. This animal possesses fur of a thick texture, and shows a tendency to become white in winter, a circumstance which might be expected to enhance the chance of its escaping from its enemies during severe weather such as is often experienced in Russia. The central race, which includes our English hare, is characterised by the possession of fur of moderate texture. It shows a disposition to become gray in winter. To find the third race of brown hare recognised by the German specialist just quoted, it is necessary to go to the extreme south of Europe. This hare of the Mediterranean sub-region differs from the animal we know so well at home in the relative thinness of its pelage. Its ears are but scantily clothed with fur. *It is a redder animal than our hare.* Mr. Abel Chapman says that *it is more brindled in colour than our insular form. Another point of distinction lies in the inferior size of the Mediterranean hare.*" (The italics are mine.) See further, *op. cit.* pp. 9 foll.; ch. ii. "Pages of Hare Lore," p. 43.

[1] These seem explicit enough; but the matter needs threshing out.

[2] A scientific observation after the manner of Gilbert White.

[3] A quasi-scientific observation.

[4] A sympathetic passage.

[1] *Lepus variabilis*, Pallas.

[2] See *op. cit.* p. 43. Also in Scotland, there called the *Scotch* or *white hare.* See St. John, *Sport, etc., in Morayshire*, p. 82, and Classified Index of the vertebrate animals alluded to, p. 317.

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caught, a victim of a misfortune belied by physical conformation: a marvel of speed and lightness.[1] § 30, bodily endowments: points of the hare. § 31, mode of progression: never walks,[2] but leaps. § 32, uses its ears to steer and turn by. § 33,[3] *in laude leporis.* § 34, observations about ἔργα, cultivated lands: springs and streams.[4]

Cap. vi. §§ 1-26 (pp. 94-102).—§§ 1-4, *of a pack of hounds:* §§ 5-10, *of the net-keeper:* §§ 11-26, *of the master and a day with the harriers.*

§ 1, harness and gear of hounds: *collar*, *leash*, and *surcingle;* special use of the latter. §§ 2-4, what hounds are to be taken out, and when not: weather favourable and not too windy, every other day: not to go after foxes: vary the ground: make an early start. §§ 5-10, equipment of *net-keeper:* his duties: when and how to fix the nets: further duties: when the hare is caught: marking, etc. § 11, *the sportsman*, hunting dress and accoutrements of. § 12, to the hunting-ground in silence. § 13, hounds ready in leash: with a prayer to Apollo and Artemis Agrotera,[5] he lets loose one hound, the most sagacious member of the pack. § 14, as soon as this one[6] carries a line straight away from the tangle of lines, another, and a third, and then the others one by one,[7] himself following, without hurry: not to over-excite them. § 15,[8] the hounds at work. § 16, in proximity to the hare's form. § 17, "away she goes": view halloo! hounds after her in full cry. § 18, the hare will presently double, and make for home:[9] further

[1] This is almost after the manner of Michelet.

[2] Mr. Barrett Hamilton measured the successive leaps of an Irish hare while chased by a dachshund (over snow), and found them to consist of the following distances measured in inches: 90, 46, 90, 45, 86, 42, 62, 44, 86, 47, 60, 120. The largest leap = 10 feet, and the writer adds: "Probably the hare whose leap I measured would have added another foot to her best efforts if she had had a brace of greyhounds at her heels." *Zoologist*, 1888, p. 259, *ap.* Macpherson, *op. cit.* p. 32.

[3] After the manner of Charles St. John.

[4] This true sportsman is a religious, law-abiding man.

[5] Not only is Xenophon himself a religious man, but the chase is itself a sacred business. Cp. the old customs, *e.g.*, of Manx fishermen when the fleet assembles for the herring fishery.

[6] μίαν κύνα. Did Xenophon hunt with a bitch pack? Not altogether, I imagine (see vi. 2, and, more conclusively, vii. 6), of whelps. τοὺς ἀρρένας, "dogs" fit for hunting at ten months; τὰς θηλείας, "bitches," at eight. ἡ κύων, (1) *generic* = hound; (2) *poetical.* Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 8; Eur. *Hipp.* 18.

[7] *N.B.* ὀνομαστί, a sympathetic touch; and below, § 20.

[8] The style is graphic and exhilarating in this enthusiastic description of the hunt. Cf. *Cyrop.* for similar stylistic qualities in descriptions of the chase and battle.

[9] See above, v. 29.

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proceedings: cry to keeper to "mark." § 19, if caught, beat up another: if not, after her hounds: master left behind: inquiries. § 20, hounds overtaken: various directions, *ὀνομαστί*, to different hounds in different tones of voice. § 21, if at fault, try back. § 22, at last they have got the line of scent.[1] § 23, the rumble-cum-tumble of the hounds: the master's part.[2] § 24, the net-keeper's. § 25, hounds have had nearly enough: time to hunt up the hare that lies dead-beat: working of the hounds again for this purpose: various encouragements according to the nature of the hound. § 26, pack up and home: care for the hounds' feet (see above, iv. 10).

Cap. vii. §§ 1-12 (pp. 103-106).—§§ 1-4, *of breeding and treatment of puppies.* § 5, *names for hounds.* §§ 6-12, *training of young hounds.*

§ 1, the right season to put the bitch to the dog. § 2, when she will best hold: treatment during pregnancy. § 3, and of the litter. § 4, feeding of puppies. § 5, hound-names should be short and easy to call out: a list of. § 6, age at which they may be taken out to hunt, according to sex. § 7, training. § 8, danger of over-exertion in case of a good pup. § 9, different treatment of less good type. § 10, young hounds not to stray. § 11, to be fed at the nets, which will train them to come back there. § 12, the master should, as far as possible, give them their food himself.[3]

Cap. viii. §§ 1-8 (pp. 106-108).—*Of tracking hares in winter.*

§ 1, set out after a fall of snow deep enough to cover the ground completely. § 2, without hounds, along with a companion to carry the nets. § 3, the medley of tracks and the hare's wiliness.[4] §§ 4-8, procedure: the hare's difficulty in ploughing its way through snow.

Cap. ix. §§ 1-20 (pp. 108-112).—*Of hunting deer.*

§ 1, "Indian" hounds the right sort. § 2, mode of capturing quite young "fawns" in spring: set off before daylight with hounds and a supply of javelins: reconnoitring. § 3, the hinds

[1] Note the *pêle-mêle* of participles here.

[2] Xenophontine word-painting.

[3] This passage reminds one of *Horsemanship*, ii. 3, and is *pro tanto* a proof of common authorship (*i.e.* genuineness), bearing the impress of Xenophon's sympathy and common-sense; association of ideas a first principle of education.

[4] Worthy of Gilbert White.

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and their young. §§ 4-7, procedure.[1] §§ 8-10, mode of capturing those of a larger growth: separating them from the herd, and running them down. § 11, capture of deer by foot-gins, *ποδοστράβαι*. §§ 12, 13, construction of these. §§ 14-16, how to set these cunningly in the ground: the keen smell and wariness of the deer. § 17, the right time to inspect the traps. §§ 18, 19, pursuit of a deer caught by the foot in one of these gins. § 20, danger of approaching a stag even so trammelled: let fly your javelins: capture of deer without aid of gin or calthrop by sheer "coursing" in hot summer time: when hard pressed the deer will take to water, etc.

Cap. x. §§ 1-23 (pp. 112-119).—*Of hunting the wild pig.*[2]

§ 1, equipment: the kinds of hound needed—"Indian," "Cretan," "Locrian," "Laconian"—and of these the best to be had. § 2, *nets*. § 3, *javelins*, *boar-traps*, *foot-traps:* need of a large party of hunters. § 4, mode of tracking (by scent?) and discovering lair of the wild pig: a "Laconian" hound. § 5, her working: traces of the boar. § 6, his lair. § 7, fixing of the toils. § 8, that done, setting the hounds on. § 9, the boar at bay. § 10, boar and hounds: the huntsman's part. § 11, in case the animal turns, how to handle the *προβόλιον*. § 12, at close quarters: the home-thrust. § 13, how to proceed in case of missing: "fall flat." § 14, the sole means of escape through a diversion made by a fellow-hunter. § 15, on one's legs again, and how to proceed: "safety not to be won nobly save by victory." § 16, a final tussle. § 17, the heat of the boar's tusks.[3] § 18, boar and sow. § 19, another mode of attack and capture of wild pig by nets fixed on his run. § 20, or, that failing, by chase in sultry weather: a monster in strength, but asthmatic. § 21, when the animal is dead-beat and stands at bay, need of getting to close quarters: danger of the sport. § 22, importance of posture in handling the spear: foot-traps also used, with an appeal to the boar-spear in the end. § 23, difficulty of capturing sounders: fierceness of boar and sow in defence of their young.[4]

Cap. xi. §§ 1-4 (pp. 119, 120).—*Concerning big game.*

§ 1, hunting of larger game—lions, lynxes, panthers, bears: the

[1] Note the practical quasi-scientific observations of the sportsman-naturalist in these sections and the next also. Cf. Aristotle, who, in writing of animals, derived his information from people like Xenophon, no doubt.

[2] Wild-boar hunt, an ancient heroic business, epic, sculpturesque.

[3] An ancient belief.

[4] A naturalist's observation.

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mountainous regions where these are to be found. § 2, mode of capture—by poison; § 3, by parties of armed horsemen; § 4, by pitfalls: a goat used as a decoy.

Cap. xii. §§ 1-22 (pp. 120-124).—Thus far concerning practical details. It remains to consider *the advantages to be got from hunting.*

§ 1, the devotee of this art is rewarded by improving his health, quickening his senses of sight and hearing, postponing old age. But further: the chase is the school of war.[1]

§ 2, *in detail*—he will learn to stand toil: it will come easy to him to march without fatigue on the worst ground under arms; to bivouac in the open; to stick to the post assigned.

§ 3, in hostile encounter—the charge: ready response to the word of command: courage not to leave the ranks will come natural to him. § 4, so, too, pursuit of the flying enemy over every sort of ground: or in case of some reverse to their own side, among forests, precipices, and other difficulties of ground their woodcraft will stand these old hunters in good stead, to the saving of themselves and others. § 5, how often has a small body of healthily-trained huntsmen rescued a mob of fellow-combatants from the grasp of the antagonist, routing him in the flush of victory.[2]

§ 6, old customs of the state to encourage hunting: our forefathers knew its value as a training in hardihood. § 7, the young especially should have this exercise secured to them for its fine moral effect, since education in truth and reality makes a man sober-minded and just.[3] It is the beginning of virtue, positively and negatively. § 8, this pleasure does not hinder

[1] So we with our cricket, football, "runs," etc., "the playing fields of Eton," the "close" at Rugby, etc., not to speak of fox-hunting; and cf. Lord Wolseley, *The Soldier's Pocket-Book.*

[2] This enthusiastic description ends, after the manner of the author, with a *sententia.* Cf. *Hell.* V. ii. 7; iii. 7.

[3] Cf. Milton, *On Education:* "The exercise which I commend first is the exact use of their weapon, to guard, and to strike safely with edge or point; this will keep them healthy, nimble, strong, and well in breath; as also the likeliest means to make them grow large and tall, and to inspire them with a gallant and fearless courage, which, being tempered with seasonable lectures and precepts to them of true fortitude and patience, will turn into a mature and heroic valour, and make them hate the cowardice of doing wrong. They must be also practised in all the locks and gripes of wrestling wherein Englishmen were wont to excel, as need may often be in fight to tug, to grapple, and to close. And this perhaps will be enough, wherein to prove and heat their single strength." When we come to the *Cyropaedia* we shall find the thesis elaborately worked out.

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its devotee from other noble aims, as do some other base pleasures which are ill to study. In the hunting-field is bred a race of true soldiers and generals. § 9, men who have stamped out all hybristic evils from body and soul, and implanted in their stead a longing after virtue. These are our ἄριστοι, true aristocrats. These will not stand by and see their city and their country devastated without striking a blow. § 10, charge, that the chase will divert from domestic duties, rebutted. § 11, given "public," then "private" virtue, inclusively and *a fortiori*, will come.[1] § 12, it is envy which is at the bottom of this talk: some of those vain babblers would sooner (I do believe) perish than owe salvation to another's virtue. (It is the old story.) "Pleasure, pleasure, pleasure." Self-indulgence, that's it—egging people on to call black white and make the worse appear the better cause. § 13, through vain words they arouse hatreds, and through evil deeds bring down diseases, losses, death it may be, on their own selves, children, and friends: having their senses dulled to things evil and feverishly alive to pleasure. § 14, the true cure: the pursuit I recommend, viz. the chase. § 15, the essence of this noble education, endurance of toil for unselfish ends, with saving effect; of the other, selfish pleasure-seeking. § 16, and the end, a dwarfing of true manhood, and "uneducated" vituperation of "true culture."[2] § 17 (look on this picture! and on that!). § 18, in praise of the chase—*i.e.* painful discipline (of which the chase is literally and in its very nature a specimen) leading to virtue, as the heroes of old time (mentioned above)[3] brought up at the feet of Cheiron testify. §§ 19-22 (and these things are an allegory), the quest of virtue: why all men love her, and why many fall away in the quest: if only she were visible to the eye of flesh, as is the beloved object of a man's passion,[4] to what height of self-respect and goodness would we not rise!

[1] Or, "Given that the devoted sportsman is educating himself to be useful to his fatherland in the highest degree, it follows he will not neglect his private duties, for with the ship of the state the domestic fortunes of each one must sink or swim; so then, so far from being the destroyer of his own, he is the saviour of other private fortunes and his own." Such, if I understand him aright, is the wisdom (or anti-sophistic argument) of the writer, be he Xenophon himself or some other.

[2] τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις. Cf. *Cyrop.* I. ii. 3, possibly an "undesigned coincidence" in proof of common authorship.

[3] ὧν ἐπεμνήσθην. These words, unless interpolated, carry with them the prefatory chapter. See Introd. p. xxii.

[4] See *Hellenica Essays*, p. 354.

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but now in our blindness we lose faith.[1] Yet virtue is an immortal presence everywhere, honouring the good and bringing the base to dishonour. Could we but realise that she is watching us, how eagerly would we essay the toilful training she insists on, and lay her captive at our feet!

Cap. xiii. 1-18 (pp. 124-128).—*Epilogue on "sophistic" as opposed to "cynegetic" education.*

§ 1, the training of the "sophists" so called, in spite of their professions, abortive in leading the young to virtue: the modern sophist, *οἱ νῦν σοφισταί*:[2] frivolous character of the modern sophistic literature.[3] § 2, only leading to waste of the student's time, if not worse (cf. above, xii. 13). § 3, plenty of far-fetched phraseology in these writings, but little of solid, wholesome sentiment (*sententiae*, *γνῶμαι*). § 4, speaking as a mere layman,[4] the author cannot put the case about education better than (in the "gnomic" fashion of Hesiod) thus: "best to be taught the good by one's own nature, next best by those who truly know some good," rather than those who have an art to deceive. § 5, an apology for his own style, *τοῖς μὲν ὀνόμασιν οὐ σεσοφισμένως λέγω*, which lacks subtle phraseology: subtlety not his aim but rather rightly-conceived thoughts: it is not words but thoughts and noble sentiments (*γνῶμαι*) that educate. § 6,[5] he is not singular in his reproach of the modern type of sophist (a very different person from the philosopher) as a professor of word-subtleties not ideas:

[1] Cf. Tennyson, *The Voyage:*

Her face was evermore unseen.

Schneid. cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 250 D:

ὄψις, ᾗ φρόνησις οὐχ ὁρᾶται· δεινοὺς γὰρ ἂν παρεῖχεν ἔρωτας, εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἐαυτῆς ἐναργὲς εἴδωλον παρεῖχετο εἰς ὄψιν ἰόν.

Formam quidem ipsam, Marce fili, et tanquam faciem honesti vides: *quae si oculis cerneretur, mirabiles amores*, ut ait Plato, *excitaret sapientiae.*—Cic. *de Off.* i. 5. 1.

"For sight is the keenest of our bodily senses; though not by that is wisdom seen; her loveliness would have been transporting if there had been a visible image of her, and the same is true of the loveliness of the other ideas as well" (Jowett).

[2] One would like to see these *γράμματα*. Was Polycrates' *κατηγορία Σωκράτους* a sample possibly? Cf. Isocr. *Enc. Hel.*

[3] See above, xii. 13.

[4] *ἐγὼ δὲ ἰδιώτης μέν εἰμι.* The apologetic phrase would suit Xenophon admirably. See K. Joel, *Der echte und der Xen. Sokrates*, pp. 67, 68.

[5] *ψέγουσι δὲ . . . ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι σοφίζονται καὶ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς νοήμασιν.* Note the form of sentence—intentionally *σεσοφισμένως*, I should say. The next sentence is probably corrupt; see note *ad loc.* Cf. Isocr. *Against the Sophists*, 294: *ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασι πρεπόντως ὅλον τὸν λόγον καταποικῖλαι καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν εὐρύθμως καὶ μουσικῶς εἰπεῖν, κ.τ.λ.*

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the advantage of an orderly sequence of ideas. § 7, what he would wish to be the fate of his own (writings?), that they should not seem to be but be in fact useful and stand the test of criticism for all time. § 8, the sophist's point of view quite other: deception and personal gain; hence the stigma attaching to the name.[1] § 9, the author's advice,[2] then, is to mistrust the *παραγγέλματα* (catchwords) of the sophist and not to contemn the *ἐνθυμήματα* (enthymêmes) of the philosopher: sophist and philosopher compared. The sophist is a hunter after wealthy young men: how different the philosopher's[3] attitude to riches. § 10,[4] it is an easy transition from the sophist to the teachers of political (that is, forensic or deliberative) discourse;[5] in private pettifoggers, in public politicians of the baser sort: both follow the path of self-aggrandisement and represent the *κακοί versus* the *ἄριστοι* of the community.[6] § 11, Private people (*ἰδιῶται*) and the state (*τὰ τῆς πόλεως*) are alike preyed upon by these *κακοί*, who are less serviceable to the public safety than the veriest layman; and look at their physique! Think of huntsmen by contrast. § 12, antithesis between sportsmen and self-seeking professional politicians:[7] both wage war, but the one against beasts, the other against friends;[8] points in favour of the huntsman. § 13, the moral and intellectual education of the chase. § 14, he must overmatch in toil and wit the boar or lion at bay. § 15, a re-

[1] The question is at what date the distinction between *σοφισταί* and *φιλόσοφοι* began to be drawn.

[2] *παραινῶ*, the repetition of the word (see i. 18; below, 17) is perhaps important in reference to the genuineness of the treatise. The distinction drawn between the philosopher and the sophist—the true and false teacher—is noble enough and worthy of the Socratic Xenophon. As to the description of the sophist, *οἱ μὲν γὰρ σοφισταὶ πλουσίους καὶ νέους θηρῶνται*, cf. Plat. *Sophist.* The metaphor of the chase is further important to the thread of the discourse.

[3] *e.g.* Socrates or, at a later date and from a very different standpoint, Isocrates.

[4] *τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πλεονεξίας εἰκῇ λόντας, κ.τ.λ.* Cf. Isocr. *Against the Sophists*, 295. 10, concerning "the pretentious school of sophists which has lately sprung up," 391, 390 B.C. "They professed to teach men political discourse"; but really "they undertook to be teachers of meddlesomeness and greed," *πολυπραγμοσύνης καὶ πλεονεξίας ὑπέστησαν εἶναι διδάσκαλοι.* See Jebb, *Att. Or.* ii. p. 133.

[5] Cf. Isocr. *Antid.* § 203.

[6] Note the political terms.

[7] Somewhat "sophistically" drawn out.

[8] As to "wild beasts" being "enemies of the whole community," this is true enough of lions and lynxes and wild boars perhaps; but horses and deer —surely the remark is made *σεσοφισμένως*, or inadvertently. So again below, § 14, surely he is thinking of "big game."

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statement of the author's position *re* the two sets of people and their types of hunting (see § 9, above). § 16,[1] a further antithesis *re* (1) *κακοήθεια* and *αἰσχροκέρδεια*, (2) as to *φωνή*, speech,[2] (3) as to "things divine." § 17, that the gods themselves are said to delight in the *ἔργον*,[3] so that the young who act upon the author's advice may well be found to be *θεοφιλεῖς τε καὶ εὐσεβεῖς*,[4] feeling that their doings are watched by gods.[5] § 18,[6] "These are the youths for me," the author adds. "Nay, what has sex to do with it? were not Atalanta and Procris beloved of Artemis?"[7]

*** Whether this epilogue — a layman's criticism of current educational methods — be written by Xenophon or not, may be hard to decide, but in any case the chapter is important as setting forth a theory of education very different from that ordinarily held nowadays or then. [Cf. *Cyrop.* I. i. for a similar distinction between the "Persian," *i.e.* an ideal (idealised Lycurgean) type of education and that in vogue at Athens.] The theory is based on the need of sincerity, truth, justice, self-denying toil as subjects to be taught and essential to the curriculum. "Sport" has this to say for itself as opposed to "word-fence"—it is, as far as it goes, an education of the real sort. It brings out faculties of body and soul desirable in the good citizen—the stalwart man—the *ἄριστος* who will see to it that his state is not wronged nor her territory laid waste. It fits in to war on the one hand and to agriculture on the other (cf. *Econ.* vi. 10).

[1] For *κακοήθεια*, cf. Isocr. *Antid.* 303; *αἰσχροκέρδεια*, cf. Plat. *Laws*, 754 E.

[2] A singular passage. See perhaps Isocr. *Antid.* 337.

[3] Or "work" *par excellence* of the chase, a remark quite in the manner of Xenophon.

[4] Cf. Plat. *Euthyphro.*

[5] See above, xii. 22, concerning "virtue."

[6] A good climax. I have little doubt that old Xenophon, through his sympathy with young people and sport, did exhort his sons (and grandsons perhaps) and their friends after this fashion. See *Horsemanship, ad in.* cf. *Anab.* V. iii. 10; *Cyrop.* I. iv. 7 foll.

[7] Here the writer seems to be harking back to cap. i. somewhat.

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THE DUTIES OF A HIPPARCH

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THE DUTIES OF A HIPPARCH[1]

OR

COMMANDER OF CAVALRY AT ATHENS

I. 1–3

I.—YOUR first duty is to offer sacrifice, petitioning the gods to grant you such good gifts[2] as shall enable you in thought, word, and deed to discharge your office in the manner most acceptable to Heaven, and with fullest increase to yourself, and friends, and to the state at large of affection, glory, and wide usefulness. The goodwill of Heaven[3] so obtained, you shall proceed to mount your troopers, taking care that the full complement which the law demands is reached, and that the normal force of cavalry is not diminished. There will need to be a reserve of remounts, or else a deficiency may occur at any moment,[4] looking to the fact that some will certainly succumb to old age, and others, from one reason or another, prove unserviceable.

But now suppose the complement of cavalry is levied,[5] the duty will devolve on you of seeing, in the first place, that your horses are well fed and in condition to stand their work,

[1] For the title, etc., see Schneid. *Praemon. de Xen.* Ἱππ. Boeckh, *P. E. A.* 251.

[2] Or, "with sacrifice to ask of Heaven those gifts of thought and speech and conduct whereby you will exercise your office most acceptably to the gods themselves, and with . . ." Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 273 E; *Euthr.* 14 B.

[3] The Greek phrase is warmer, *θεῶν δ' ἵλεων ὄντων*, "the gods being kindly and propitious." Cf. Plat. *Laws*, 712 B.

[4] Lit. "at any moment there will be too few." See *Les Cavaliers Athéniens*, par Albert Martin, p. 308.

[5] Lit. "in process of being raised."

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since a horse which cannot endure fatigue will clearly be unable to overhaul the foeman or effect escape;[1] and in the second place, you will have to see to it the animals are tractable, since, clearly again, a horse that will not obey is only fighting for the enemy and not his friends. So, again, an animal that kicks when mounted must be cast; since brutes of that sort may often do more mischief than the foe himself. Lastly, you must pay attention to the horses' feet, and see that they will stand being ridden over rough ground. A horse, one knows, is practically useless where he cannot be galloped without suffering.

And now, supposing that your horses are all that they ought to be, like pains must be applied to train the men themselves. The trooper, in the first place, must be able to spring on horseback easily—a feat to which many a man has owed his life ere now. And next, he must be able to ride with freedom over every sort of ground, since any description of country may become the seat of war. When, presently, your men have got firm seats, your aim should be to make as many members of the corps as possible not only skilled to hurl the javelin from horseback with precision, but to perform all other feats expected of the expert horseman. Next comes the need to arm both horse and man in such a manner as to minimise the risk of wounds, and yet to increase the force of every blow delivered.[2] This attended to, you must contrive to make your men amenable to discipline, without which neither good horses, nor a firm seat, nor splendour of equipment will be of any use at all.

The general of cavalry,[3] as patron of the whole department, is naturally responsible for its efficient working. In view, however, of the task imposed upon that officer had he to carry out these various details single-handed, the state has chosen to associate[4] with him certain coadjutors in the persons of the

[1] Or, "to press home a charge *à l'outrance*, or retire from the field unscathed."

[2] Lit. "so that whilst least likely to be wounded themselves, they may most be able to injure the enemy."

[3] See *Mem.* III. iii.

[4] Cf. Theophr. xxix. *The Oligarchic Man:* "When the people are deliberating whom they shall associate with the archon as joint directors of the procession" (Jebb).

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phylarchs (or tribal captains),[1] and has besides imposed upon the senate a share in the superintendence of the cavalry. This being so, two things appear to me desirable; the first is, so to work upon the phylarch that he shall share your own enthusiasm for the honour of the corps;[2] and secondly, to have at your disposal in the senate able orators,[3] whose language may instil a wholesome fear into the knights themselves, and thereby make them all the better men, or tend to pacify the senate on occasion and disarm unseasonable anger.

The above may serve as memoranda[4] of the duties which will claim your chief attention. How the details in each case may best be carried out is a further matter, which I will now endeavour to explain.

As to the men themselves—the class from which you will make your pick of troopers—clearly according to the law you are bound to enrol "the ablest" you can find "in point of wealth and bodily physique"; and "if not by persuasion, then by prosecution in a court of law."[5] And for my part, I think, if legal pressure is to be applied, you should apply it in those cases where neglect to prosecute might fairly be ascribed to interested motives;[6] since if you fail to put compulsion on the greater people first, you leave a backdoor of escape at once to those of humbler means. But there will be other cases;[7] say, of young men in whom a real enthusiasm for the service may be kindled by recounting to them all the brilliant feats of knighthood; while you may disarm the opposition of their guardians by dwelling on the fact that, if not you, at any rate some future hipparch will certainly compel them to breed horses,[8] owing

[1] Or, "squadron-leaders." [2] "Honour and prestige of knighthood."

[3] "To keep a staff of orators." Cf. *Anab.* VII. vi. 41; *Cyrop.* I. vi. 19; *Hell.* VI. ii. 39 (Trans. vol. ii. p. 151).

[4] "A sort of notes and suggestions," "mementoes." Cf. *Horsemanship*, iii. 1, xii. 14.

[5] Lit. "by bringing them into court, or by persuasion," *i.e.* by legal if not by moral pressure. See Martin, *op. cit.* pp. 316, 321 foll.

[6] *i.e.* "would cause you to be suspected of acting from motives of gain."

[7] Reading ἔστι δὲ καὶ οὕς: or if as vulg. ἔτι δὲ καί, "More than that, it strikes me one may work on the feelings of young fellows in such a way as to disarm." See Hartman, *An. Xen. N.* 325.

[8] Cf. Aesch. *P. V.* 474; Herod. vi. 35; Dem. 1046. 14; Thuc. vi. 12; Isocr. περὶ τοῦ ζεύγους, 353 C. ἱπποτροφεῖν δ' ἐπιχειρήσας, ὃ τῶν εὐδαιμονεστάτων ἔργον ἐστί. See Prof. Jebb's note to Theophr. *Ch.* vi. p. 197, note 16.

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to their wealth; whereas, if they enter the service[1] during your term of office, you will undertake to deter their lads from mad extravagance in buying horses,[2] and take pains to make good horsemen of them without loss of time; and while pleading in this strain, you must endeavour to make your practice correspond with what you preach.

To come to the existing body of knights,[3] it would tend,[4] I think, to better rearing and more careful treatment of their horses if the senate issued a formal notice that for the future twice the amount of drill will be required, and that any horse unable to keep up will be rejected. And so, too, with regard to vicious horses, I should like to see an edict promulgated to the effect that all such animals will be rejected. This threat would stimulate the owners of such brutes to part with them by sale, and, what is more, to exercise discretion at the time of purchase. So, too, it would be a good thing if the same threat of rejection were made to include horses that kick on the exercising-grounds, since it is impossible to keep such animals in the ranks; and in case of an advance against a hostile force at any point,[5] they must perforce trail in the rear, so that, thanks to the vice of the animal which he bestrides, the trooper himself is rendered useless.

With a view to strengthening the horses' feet: if any one has an easier or more simple treatment to suggest, by all means let it be adopted; but for myself, as the result of experience, I maintain that the proper course is to lay down a loose layer of cobbles from the road, a pound or so in weight, on which the horse should be put to stand, when taken from the manger

[1] Lit. "if they mount."

[2] Like that of Pheidippides in the play; see Aristoph. *Clouds*, 23 foll. And for the price of horses, ranging from 3 *minas* (= £12 circa) for a common horse, or 12 *minas* (say £50) for a good saddle or race-horse, up to the extravagant sum of 13 *talents* (say 3000 guineas) given for "Bucephalus," see Boeckh, *P. E. A.* (Eng. tr.), p. 74. Cf. Isaeus, 55. 22; 88. 17; Lys. *de Maled.* 133. 10; Aul. Gell. *Noct. Att.* v. 2.

[3] Or, "As regards those who are actually serving in the cavalry." For a plausible emend. of this passage (§ 13) see Courier (*Notes sur le texte*, p. 54); L. Dind. *ad loc.*

[4] Lit. "the senate might incite to . . ."

[5] Reading *ἐάν*, or if *κἂν* with the MSS., trans. "even in case of an advance against the enemy."

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to be groomed.[1] The point is, that the horse will keep perpetually moving first one foot and then another on the stones, whilst being rubbed down or simply because he is fidgeted by flies. Let any one try the experiment, and, I venture to predict, not only will he come to trust my guidance, but will see his horse's hoofs grow just as round and solid as the cobbles.

Assuming, then, your horses are all that horses ought to be, how is the trooper to attain a like degree of excellence? To that question I will now address myself. The art of leaping on to horseback is one which we would fain persuade the youthful members of the corps to learn themselves; though, if you choose to give them an instructor,[2] all the greater credit to yourself. And as to the older men you cannot do better than accustom them to mount, or rather to be hoisted up by aid of some one, Persian fashion.[3]

With a view to keeping a firm seat on every sort of ground, it may perhaps be thought a little irksome to be perpetually marching out, when there is no war;[4] but all the same, I would have you call your men together and impress upon them the need to train themselves, when they ride into the country to their farms, or elsewhere, by leaving the high road and galloping at a round pace on ground of every description.[5] This method will be quite as beneficial to them as the regular march out, and at the same time not produce the sense of tedium. You may find it useful also to remind them that the state on her side is quite willing to expend a sum of nearly forty talents[6] yearly, so that in the event of war she may not have to look about for cavalry, but have a thoroughly efficient force to hand for active service. Let these ideas be once instilled into their minds, and, mark my words, your trooper will fall with zest to prac-

[1] See below, *Horse.* iv. 4. The Greeks did not "shoe" their horses.

[2] Like Pheidon, in the fragment of Mnesimachus's play *The Breeder of Horses*, ap. Athen. See Courier, *ib.* p. 55.

[3] See *Anab.* IV. iv. 4 (Trans. vol. i. p. 188); *Horsemanship*, vi. 12 (below, p. 51).

[4] In the piping days of peace.

[5] See *Econ.* xi. 17. Cf. Theophr. *Ch.* viii. *The Late Learner*: καὶ εἰς ἀγρὸν ἐφ' ἵππου ἀλλοτρίου κατοχούμενος ἅμα μελετᾶν ἱππάζεσθαι, καὶ πεσὼν τὴν κεφαλὴν κατεαγέναι, "Riding into the country on another's horse, he will practise his horsemanship by the way, and falling, will break his head" (Jebb).

[6] = £10,000 circa. See Boeckh, *op. cit.* p. 251.

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tising horsemanship, so that if ever the flame of war burst out he may not be forced to enter the lists a raw recruit, unskilled to fight for fame and fatherland or even life itself.

It would be no bad thing either, to forewarn your troopers that one day you will take them out yourself for a long march, and lead them across country over every kind of ground. Again, whilst practising the evolutions of the rival cavalry display,[1] it will be well to gallop out at one time to one district and again to another. Both men and horses will be benefited.

Next, as to hurling the javelin from horseback, the best way to secure as wide a practice of the art as possible, it strikes me, would be to issue an order to your phylarchs that it will be their duty to put themselves at the head of the marksmen of the several tribes, and to ride out to the butts for practice. In this way a spirit of emulation will be roused —the several officers will, no doubt, be eager to turn out as many marksmen as they can to aid the state.[2]

And so too, to ensure that splendour of accoutrement which the force requires,[3] the greatest help may once again be looked for from the phylarchs; let these officers but be persuaded that from the public point of view the splendid appearance of their squadrons[4] will confer a title to distinction far higher than that of any personal equipment. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that they will be deaf to such an argument, since the very desire to hold the office of phylarch in itself proclaims a soul alive to honour and ambition. And what is more, they have it in their power, in accordance with the actual provisions of the law, to equip their men without the outlay of a single penny, by enforcing that self-equipment out of pay[5] which the law prescribes.

[1] Lit. "the *anthippasia*." See iii. 11, and *Horsemanship*, viii. 10.

[2] On competition cf. *Cyrop.* II. i. 22, and our author *passim*.

[3] Or, "a beauty of equipment, worthy of our knights." Cf. Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 561, and a fragment of *The Knights* of Antiphanes, ap. Athen. 503 B, *πάντ' Ἀμαλθείας κέρας*. See *Hiero*, ix. 6; *Horse.* xi. 10.

[4] Lit. "tribes," *φυλαί* (each of the ten tribes contributing about eighty men, or, as we might say, a *squadron*).

[5] *i.e.* the *κατάστασις*, "allowance," so technically called. Cf. Lys. *for Mantitheos*; Jebb, *Att. Or.* i. 246; Boeckh, *P. E. A.* II. xxi. p. 263; K. F. Hermann, 152, 19; Martin, *op. cit.* p. 341.

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But to proceed. In order to create a spirit of obedience in your subordinates, you have two formidable instruments:[1] as a matter of plain reason you can show them what a host of blessings the word discipline implies; and as a matter of hard fact you can, within the limits of the law, enable the well-disciplined to reap advantage, while the undisciplined are made to feel the pinch at every turn.

But if you would rouse the emulation of your phylarchs, if you would stir in each a personal ambition to appear at the head of his own squadron in all ways splendidly appointed, the best incentive will be your personal example. You must see to it that your own bodyguard[2] are decked with choice accoutrement and arms; you must enforce on them the need to practise shooting pertinaciously; you must expound to them the theory of the javelin, yourself an adept in the art through constant training.[3]

Lastly, were it possible to institute and offer prizes to the several tribal squadrons in reward for every excellence of knighthood known to custom in the public spectacles of our city, we have here, I think, an incentive which will appeal to the ambition of every true Athenian. How small, in the like case of our choruses, the prizes offered, and yet how great the labour and how vast the sums expended![4] But we must discover umpires of such high order that to win their verdict will be as precious to the victor as victory itself.

II.—Given, then, that your troopers are thoroughly trained in all the above particulars, it is necessary, I presume, that they should further be instructed in a type of evolution the effect of which will show itself not only in the splendour of the great processions[5] in honour of the gods, but in the manœuvres of the exercising-ground; in the valorous onslaught

[1] "The one theoretic, the other practical."

[2] Techn. *πρόδρομοι*, possibly = the Hippotoxotai, or corps of 200 mounted archers—Scythians; cf. *Mem.* III. iii. 11. Or, probably, "mounted skirmishers," distinct from the *ἱπποτοξόται*. Cf. Arrian, *An.* i. 12. 7. See Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 49. 5.

[3] Reading as vulg. *εἰσηγοῖο*, or if with L. D. *ἡγοῖο* (cf. above, § 21), trans. "you must lead them out to the butts yourself."

[4] See *Hell.* III. iv. 15; *Hiero*, ix. 3; *Cyrop.* I. vi. 18; Martin, *op. cit.* p. 260 f.

[5] *e.g.* the Panathenaic, as depicted on the frieze of the Parthenon.

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of real battle when occasion calls; and in the ease with which whole regiments will prosecute their march, or cross a river, or thread a defile without the slightest symptom of confusion. What this formation is—essential, at least in my opinion, to the noblest execution of their several duties—I will now, without delay, endeavour to explain.[1]

We take as our basis, then, the constitutional division of ten tribes.[2] Given these, the proper course, I say, is to appoint, with the concurrence of the several phylarchs, certain *decadarchs* (file-leaders)[3] to be selected from the men ripest of age and strength, most eager to achieve some deed of honour and to be known to fame. These are to form your front-rank men;[4] and after these, a corresponding number should be chosen from the oldest and the most sagacious members of the squadron, to form the rear-rank of the files or *decads;* since, to use an illustration, iron best severs iron when the forefront of the blade[5] is strong and tempered, and the momentum at the back sufficient.

The interval between the front and rear-rank men will best be filled supposing that the decadarchs are free to choose their own supporters, and those chosen theirs, and so on following suit; since on this principle we may expect each man to have his trustiest comrade at his back.

As to your lieutenant,[6] it is every way important to appoint a good man to this post, whose bravery will tell; and

[1] Or, "what this best order is, the adoption of which will give these several features fair accomplishment, I will without further pause set forth."

[2] See *Revenues*, iv. 30 (Trans. vol. ii. p. 340).

[3] *Decadarchs*, lit. commanders of ten, a "file" consisting normally (or ideally) of ten men. Cf. *Cyrop.* II. ii. 30; VIII. i. 14. It will be borne in mind that a body of cavalry would, as a rule, be drawn up in battle line at least four deep (see *Hell.* III. iv. 13, Trans. vol. ii. p. 28), and frequently much deeper. (The Persian cavalry in the engagement just referred to were twelve deep.)

[4] See *Cyrop.* III. iii. 41, 57; VI. iii. 24, 27; VII. i. 15; *Pol. Lac.* xi. 5 (Trans. vol. ii. p. 315). These front-rank men would seem to correspond to our "troop guides," and the rear-rank men to our serre-files to some extent.

[5] Cf. Aelian Tact. 26, ap. Courier.

[6] *τὸν ἀφηγούμενον*, lit. "him who leads back" (a function which would devolve upon the *οὐραγός* under many circumstances). Cf. *Cyrop.* II. iii. 21; *Hell.* IV. viii. 37; Plat. *Laws*, 760 D. =our "officer serre-file," to some extent. So Courier: "*Celui qui commande en serre-file.* C'est chez nous le capitaine en second." See below, p. 29.

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in case of need at any time to charge the enemy, the cheering accents of his voice will infuse strength into those in front; or when the critical moment of retreat arrives, his sage conduct in retiring will go far, we may well conclude, towards saving his division.[1]

An even number of file-leaders will admit of a greater number of equal subdivisions than an odd.

The above formation pleases me for two good reasons: in the first place, all the front-rank men are forced to act as officers;[2] and the same man, mark you, when in command is somehow apt to feel that deeds of valour are incumbent on him which, as a private, he ignores; and in the next place, at a crisis when something calls for action on the instant, the word of command passed not to privates but to officers takes speedier effect.

Supposing, then, a regiment of cavalry drawn up in this formation: just as the squadron-leaders have their several positions for the march (or the attack[3]) assigned them by the commander, so the file-leaders will depend upon the captain for the order passed along the line in what formation they are severally to march; and all being prearranged by word of mouth, the whole will work more smoothly than if left to chance—like people crowding out of a theatre to their mutual annoyance. And when it comes to actual encounter greater promptitude will be displayed: supposing the attack is made in front, by the file-leaders who know that this is their appointed post; or in case of danger suddenly appearing in rear, then by the rear-rank men, whose main idea is that to desert one's post is base. A want of orderly arrangement, on the contrary, leads to confusion worse confounded at every narrow road, at every passage of a river; and when it comes to fighting, no one of his own free will assigns himself his proper post in face of an enemy.

[1] Or, "the rest of the squadron." Lit. "his own tribesmen."

[2] *i.e.* all find themselves in a position of command, and there is nothing like command to inspire that feeling of *noblesse oblige* which is often lacking in the private soldier. See Thuc. v. 66; *Pol. Lac.* xi. 5 (Trans. vol. ii. p. 315).

[3] Lit. "where to ride," *i.e.* in what formation whether on the line of march or in action.

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The above are fundamental matters not to be performed without the active help of every trooper who would wish to be a zealous and unhesitating fellow-worker with his officer.[1]

III.—I come at length to certain duties which devolve upon the general of cavalry himself in person: and first and foremost, it concerns him to obtain the favour of the gods by sacrifices in behalf of the state cavalry; and in the next place to make the great procession at the festivals a spectacle worth seeing; and further, with regard to all those public shows demanded by the state, wherever held,[2] whether in the grounds of the Academy or the Lyceum, at Phalêron or within the hippodrome, it is his business as commander of the knights to see that every pageant of the sort is splendidly exhibited.

But these, again, are memoranda.[3] To the question how the several features of the pageant shall receive their due impress of beauty, I will now address myself.

And first to speak of the Processions.[4] These will, I think, be rendered most acceptable to Heaven and to earth's spectators were the riders to ride round the Agora and temples, commencing from the Hermae, and pay honour to the sacred Beings, each in turn, whose shrines and statues are there congregated. (Thus in the great Dionysia[5] the choruses enhance their gracious service to the other gods and to the Twelve with circling dance.[6]) When the circuit is completed, and the riders are back again in front of the Hermae, it would add, I think, to the beauty of the scene[7] if at this point they formed in companies of tribes, and

[1] Cf. *Hiero*, vii. 2; *Cyrop.* II. iv. 10.

[2] Cf. Theophr. *Ch.* vii. (Jebb *ad loc.* p. 204, n. 25); and for the topography see map, *Athens and Piraeus*, to face p. 76 of Trans. vol. i.

[3] See above, i. 9, and read *ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλα ὑπομνήματα*, or if with Pantazid. *ἁπλᾶ*, trans. "these are simply memoranda."

[4] *τὰς πομπάς*. See A. Martin, *op. cit.* 147, 160. For the topography see Leake, *Top. Ath.* i. 253.

[5] Celebrated in March (Elaphebolion).

[6] Or, "by dancing roundelays in honour of the gods, especially The Twelve"; and as to the Twelve cf. Aristoph. *Knights*, 235, *Birds*, 95; Plat. *Laws*, 654; Paus. i. 3. 3; 40. 3; viii. 25. 3; Plut. *Nic.* 13; Lycurg. 198.

[7] Or, "it would be a beautiful sequel to the proceedings, in my opinion, if at this point they formed in squadron column, and giving rein to their chargers, swept forward at full gallop to the Eleusinion." See Leake, *op. cit.* i. 296.

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giving their horses rein, swept forward at the gallop to the Eleusinion. Nor must I omit to note the right position of the lance, to lessen as far as possible the risk of mutual interference.[1] Each trooper should hold his lance straight between the ears of his charger, which in proportion to the distinctness given to the weapon will rouse terror, and at the same time create a vague idea of multitudinousness.[2]

As soon as they have ceased from the charge at full gallop, the pace should at once be changed; and now, with footing slow, let them retrace their course back to the temples. In this way every detail characteristic of knightly pageantry[3] will have been displayed to the delight of god and man. That our knights are not accustomed to these actual evolutions, I am well aware; but I also recognise the fact that the performances are good and beautiful and will give pleasure to spectators. I do not fail to note, moreover, that novel feats of horsemanship have before now been performed by our knights, when their commanders have had the ability to get their wishes readily complied with.

But now, let us suppose it is the occasion of the march-past,[4] in the grounds of the Lyceum, before the javelin-throwing. The scene would gain in beauty if the tribal squadrons were to ride in line of columns[5] as if for battle, in two divisions, five squadrons in the one and five in the other, with the hipparch and the phylarchs at their head, in such formation as to allow the whole breadth of the racecourse to be filled. Then, as soon as they have gained the top[6] of the incline, which leads down to the theatre opposite, it would, I think,

[1] Lit. "Nor will I omit how the lances shall as little as possible overlap one another."

[2] Lit. "Every trooper should be at pains to keep his lance straight between the ears of his charger, if these weapons are to be distinct and terror-striking, and at the same time to appear numerous."

[3] Lit. "everything that may be performed on a mounted horse." Possibly, as Cobet suggests, καλά has dropped out. See *Horsemanship*, xi. 3, 6 (below, p. 65).

[4] διελαύνωσιν ἐν Λυκείῳ. See A. Martin, *op. cit.* 196; cf. Arist. *Peace*, 356.

[5] Or, as we might say, "in regimental order," "with the commanding officer in front and their respective squadron-leaders"; and for the Lyceum see *Hell.* I. i. 33; II. iv. 27.

[6] Lit. "the apex of the confronting theatre."

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be obviously useful here to show the skill with which your troopers can gallop down a steep incline[1] with as broad a front as the nature of the ground permits. I am quite clear that your troopers, if they can trust their own skill in galloping, will take kindly to such an exhibition; while as certainly, if unpractised, they must look to it that the enemy does not give them a lesson in the art some day, perforce.

To come to the test manœuvres.[2] The order in which the men will ride with showiest effect on these occasions has been already noted.[3] As far as the leader is himself concerned, and presuming he is mounted on a powerful horse, I would suggest that he should each time ride round on the outer flank; in which case he will himself be kept perpetually moving at a canter, and those with him, as they become the wheeling flank, will, by turns, fall into the same pace, with this result: the spectacle presented to the senate will be that of an ever rapidly moving stream of cavaliers; and the horses having, each in turn, the opportunity to recover breath, will not be overdone.

On occasions when the display takes place in the hippodrome,[4] the best arrangement would be, in the first place, that the troops should fill the entire space with extended front, so forcing out the mob of people from the centre;[5] and secondly, that in the sham fight[6] which ensues, the tribal squadrons, swiftly

[1] See *Horsemanship*, viii. 6 (below, p. 57); *Anab.* IV. viii. 28.

[2] δοκιμασίαις, reviews and inspections. See A. Martin, *op. cit.* p. 333.

[3] Where? Some think in a lost passage of the work (see Courier, p. 111, n. 1); or is the reference to ch. ii. above? and is the scene of the δοκιμασίαι Phalêron? There is no further reference to τὰ Φαληροῖ. Cf. § 1, above. See Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 49 (now the *locus classicus* on the subject), and Dr. Sandys *ad loc.* The scene is represented on a *patera* from Orvieto, now in the Berlin Museum, reproduced and fully described in *The Art of Horsemanship by Xenophon*, translated, with chapters on the Greek Riding-Horse, and with notes, by Morris H. Morgan, p. 76. For the manœuvre see below, note, p. 33.

[4] In the hippodrome near Munychia, I suppose. See Map, Trans. vol. i. p. 76.

[5] Lit. ". . . it would be beautiful to form with extended front, so as to fill the hippodrome with horses and drive out the people from the central space, beautiful to . . ." The new feature of the review would seem to have been the introduction of a sham fight in three parts, down to the customary advance of the whole corps, ἐπὶ φάλαγγος. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* v. 545 foll. But see Martin, *op. cit.* 197.

[6] Lit. "the *anthippasia*."

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pursuing and retiring, should gallop right across and through each other, the two hipparchs at their head, each with five squadrons under him. Consider the effect of such a spectacle: the grim advance of rival squadrons front to front; the charge; the solemn pause as, having swept across the hippodrome, they stand once more confronting one another; and then the trumpet sounds, whereat a second and yet swifter hostile advance, how fine the effect!—and once again they are at the halt; and once again the trumpet sounds, and for the third time, at the swiftest pace of all, they make a final charge across the field, before dismissal; after which they come to a halt *en masse*, in battle order; and, as now customary,[1] ride up to salute the senate, and disband. These evolutions will at once approve themselves, I think, not only for their novelty, but for their resemblance to real warfare. The notion that the hipparch is to ride at a slower pace than his phylarchs, and to handle his horse precisely in their style, seems to me below the dignity of the office.

When the cavalry parade takes place on the hard-trodden[2] ground of the Academy, I have the following advice to give. To avoid being jolted off his horse at any moment, the trooper should, in charging, lean well back,[3] and to prevent his charger stumbling, he should while wheeling hold his head well up, but along a straight stretch he should force the pace. Thus the spectacle presented to the senate will combine the elements of beauty and of safety.

IV.—To pass to a different topic: on the march, the general will need to exercise a constant forethought to relieve the horses' backs and the troopers' legs, by a judicious interchange of riding and of marching. Wherein consists the golden mean, will not be hard to find; since "every man a standard to himself,"[4] applies, and your sensations are an index to prevent your fellows being overdone through inadvertence.

But now supposing you are on the march in some direction, and it is uncertain whether you will stumble on

[1] "As is your custom." See *Mem.* III. iii. 6.
[2] Cf. Thuc. vii. 27. [3] See *Horsemanship*, vii. 17 (below, p. 55).
[4] The phrase is proverbial. Cf. Plat. *Theaet.* 183 B.

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the enemy, your duty is to rest your squadrons in turn; since it will go hard with you, if the enemy come to close quarters when the whole force is dismounted.[1] Or, again, suppose the roads are narrow, or you have to cross a defile, you will pass, by word of mouth, the command to diminish the front;[2] or given, again, you are debouching on broad roads, again the word of command will pass by word of mouth, to every squadron, "to increase their front"; or lastly, supposing you have reached flat country, "to form squadron in order of battle." If only for the sake of practice, it is well to go through evolutions of the sort;[3] besides which it adds pleasure to the march thus to diversify the line of route with cavalry manœuvres.

Supposing, however, you are off roads altogether and moving fast over difficult ground, no matter whether you are in hostile or in friendly territory, it will be useful if the scouts attached to squadrons[4] rode on in advance, their duty being, in case of encountering pathless clefts or gullies, to work round on to practicable ground, and to discover at what point the troopers may effect a passage, so that whole ranks may not go blindly roaming.[5]

Again, if there is prospect of danger on the march, a prudent general can hardly show his wisdom better than by sending out advanced patrols in front of the ordinary exploring parties to reconnoitre every inch of ground minutely. So to be apprised of the enemy's position in advance, and at as great a distance off as possible, cannot fail to be useful, whether for purposes of attack or defence; just as it is useful also to enforce a halt at the passage of a river or some other defile, so that the men in rear may not knock their horses all to bits in endeavouring to overtake their

[1] See *Hell.* V. iv. 40 (Trans. vol. ii. p. 129) for a case in point.

[2] Or, "advance by column of route." See *Hell.* VII. iv. 23.

[3] Or, "it is a pleasant method of beguiling the road." Cf. Plat. *Laws*, i. 625 B.

[4] τῶν ὑπηρετῶν = "ground scouts," *al.* "orderlies." *Ordonnances, trabans* (Courier). See Rüstow and Köchly, p. 140. *Cyrop.* II. i. 21; II. iv. 4; V. iii. 52; VII. v. 18, and VI. ii. 13; *Anab.* I. ix. 27; II. i. 9; where "adjutants," "orderlies" would seem to be implied.

[5] *Al.* "to prevent whole divisions losing their way." Cf. *Anab.* VIII. iii. 18 (Trans. vol. i. p. 257).

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leader. These are precepts known, I admit, to nearly all the world, but it is by no means every one who will take pains to apply them carefully.[1]

It is the business of the hipparch to take infinite precautions while it is still peace, to make himself acquainted with the details, not only of his own, but of the hostile territory;[2] or if, as may well betide, he personally should lack the knowledge, he should invite the aid of others[3] —those best versed in the topography of any district. Since there is all the difference in the world between a leader acquainted with his roads and one who is not; and when it comes to actual designs upon the enemy, the difference between knowing and not knowing the locality can hardly be exaggerated.

So, too, with regard to spies and intelligencers. Before war commences your business is to provide yourself with a supply of people friendly to both states, or maybe merchants (since states are ready to receive the importer of goods with open arms); sham deserters may be found occasionally useful.[4] Not, of course, that the confidence you feel in your spies must ever cause you to neglect outpost duty; indeed your state of preparation should at any moment be precisely what it ought to be, supposing the approach or the imminent arrival of the enemy were to be announced. Let a spy be ever so faithful, there is always the risk he may fail to report his intelligence at the critical moment, since the obstacles which present themselves in war are not to be counted on the fingers.

But to proceed to another topic. The enemy is less likely to get wind of an advance of cavalry, if the orders for march were passed from mouth to mouth rather than announced by voice of herald, or public notice.[5] Accordingly, in addition

[1] See *Econ.* xx. 6. foll.

[2] Or, "with hostile and friendly territories alike."

[3] Lit. "he should associate with himself those of the rest"; *i.e.* his colleagues or other members of the force.

[4] Cf. *Cyrop.* VI. i. 39, where one of the Persians, Araspas, undertakes to play this rôle to good effect.

[5] *i.e.* "given by general word of command, or in writing." As to the "word-of-mouth command," see above, § 3; *Hell.* VII. v. 9 (Trans. vol. ii. p. 228); and for the "herald," see *Anab.* III. iv. 36 (Trans. vol. i. p. 169).

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to[1] this method of ordering the march by word passed along the line, the appointment of file-leaders seems desirable, who again are to be supplemented by section-leaders,[2] so that the number of men to whom each petty officer has to transmit an order will be very few;[3] while the section-leaders will deploy and increase the front, whatever the formation, without confusion, whenever there is occasion for the movement.[4]

When an advanced guard is needed, I must say for myself I highly approve of secret pickets and outposts, if only because in supplying a guard to protect your friends you are contriving an ambuscade to catch the enemy. Also the outposts will be less exposed to a secret attack, being themselves unseen, and yet a source of greater alarm to the enemy; since the bare knowledge that there are outposts somewhere, though where precisely no man knows, will prevent the enemy from feeling confident, and oblige him to mistrust every tenable position. An exposed outpost, on the contrary, presents to the broad eye of day its dangers and also its weaknesses.[5] Besides which, the holder of a concealed outpost can always place a few exposed vedettes beyond his hidden pickets, and so endeavour to decoy the enemy into an ambuscade. Or he may play the part of trapper with effect by placing a second exposed outpost in rear of the other; a device which may serve to take in the unwary foeman quite as well as that before named.

Indeed I take it to be the mark of a really prudent general never to run a risk of his own choosing, except where it is plain to him beforehand, that he will get the better of his adversary. To play into the enemy's hands may more fitly be described as treason to one's fellow-combatants than true manliness. So, too, true generalship consists in attacking where the enemy is weakest, even if the point be some leagues distant. Severity of toil weighs nothing in the scale against the danger of engaging a force superior to your own.[6]

[1] Reading *πρὸς τῷ διὰ π.*, or if *πρὸς τὸ . . .* transl. "with a view to."
[2] Lit. *pempadarchs, i.e.* No. 6 in the file. See *Cyrop.* II. i. 22 foll., iii. 21.
[3] Lit. "so that each officer may pass the word to as few as possible."
[4] Cf. *Anab.* IV. vi. 6 (Trans. vol. i. p. 197).
[5] Lit. "makes plain its grounds of terror as of confidence."
[6] *N.B.* Throughout this treatise the author has to meet the case of a small force of cavalry acting on the defensive.

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Still, if on any occasion the enemy advance in any way to place himself between fortified points that are friendly to you, let him be never so superior in force, your game is to attack on whichever flank you can best conceal your advance, or, still better, on both flanks simultaneously; since, while one detachment is retiring after delivering its attack, a charge pressed home from the opposite quarter cannot fail to throw the enemy into confusion and to give safety to your friends.

How excellent a thing it is to endeavour to ascertain an enemy's position by means of spies and so forth, is an ancient story; yet best of all, in my opinion, is it for the commander to try to seize some coign of vantage, from which with his own eyes he may descry the movements of the enemy and watch for any error on his part.[1]

Whatever may be snatched by ruse, thief fashion,[2] your business is to send a competent patrol to seize; or again where capture by *coup de main*[3] is practicable, you will despatch a requisite body of troops to effect a *coup de main*. Or take the case: the enemy is on the march in some direction, and a portion of his force becomes detached from his main body or through excess of confidence is caught straggling; do not let the opportunity escape, but make it a rule always to pursue a weaker with a stronger force.[4] These, indeed, are rules of procedure, which it only requires a simple effort of the mind to appreciate. Creatures far duller of wit than man have this ability: kites and falcons, when anything is left unguarded, pounce and carry it off and retire into safety without being caught; or wolves, again, will hunt down any quarry left widowed of its guard, or thieve what they can in darksome corners.[5] In case a dog pursues and overtakes them, should he chance to be weaker the wolf attacks him, or if stronger, the wolf will slaughter[6] his quarry and make off. At other

[1] As, *e.g.* Epaminondas at Tegea. See *Hell.* VII. v. 9 (Trans. vol. ii. p. 227).

[2] *e.g.* defiles, bridges, outposts, stores, etc.

[3] *e.g.* a line of outposts, troops in billets or bivouac, etc.

[4] "It is a maxim, the quarry should be weaker than the pursuer."

[5] Zeune cf. Ael. *N. A.* viii. 14, on the skill of wolves in hunting.

[6] For ἀποσφάξας Courier suggests ἀποσπάσας, "dragging off what he can."

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times, if the pack be strong enough to make light of the guardians of a flock, they will marshal their battalions, as it were, some to drive off the guard and others to effect the capture, and so by stealth or fair fight they provide themselves with the necessaries of life. I say, if dumb beasts are capable of conducting a raid with so much sense and skill, it is hard if any average man cannot prove himself equally intelligent with creatures which themselves fall victims to the craft of man.

v.—Here is another matter which every horseman ought to know, and that is within what distance a horse can overhaul a man on foot; or the interval necessary to enable a slower horse to escape one more fleet. It is the business rather of the cavalry general to recognise at a glance the sort of ground on which infantry will be superior to cavalry and where cavalry will be superior to infantry. He should be a man of invention, ready of device to turn all circumstances to account, so as to give at one time a small body of cavalry the appearance of a larger, and again a large the likeness of a smaller body; he should have the craft to appear absent when close at hand, and within striking distance when a long way off; he should know exactly not only how to steal an enemy's position, but by a master stroke of cunning[1] to spirit his own cavalry away and, when least expected, deliver his attack. Another excellent specimen of inventiveness may be seen in the general's ability, while holding a weak position himself, to conjure up so lively an apprehension in the enemy that he will not dream of attacking; or conversely, when, being in a strong position himself, he can engender a fatal boldness in the adversary to venture an attack. Thus with the least cost to yourself, you will best be able to catch your enemy tripping.

But to avoid suspicion of seeming to prescribe impossible feats, I will set down, in so many words, the procedure in certain crucial instances.

The best safeguard against failure in any attempt to enforce pursuit or conduct a retreat lies in a thorough know-

[1] Or, "sleight of hand"; and for κλέπτειν = *escamoter* see *Anab.* IV. vi. 11, 15; V. vi. 9 (Trans. vol. i. pp. 198, 229).

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ledge of your horses' powers.[1] But how is this experience to be got? Simply by paying attention to their behaviour in the peaceable manœuvres of the sham fight, when there is no real enemy to intervene,—how the animals come off, in fact, and what stamina they show in the various charges and retreats.

Or suppose the problem is to make your cavalry appear numerous. In the first place, let it be a fundamental rule, if possible, not to attempt to delude the enemy at close quarters; distance, as it aids illusion, will promote security. The next point is to bear in mind that a mob of horses clustered together (owing perhaps to the creatures' size) will give a suggestion of number, whereas scattered they may easily be counted.

Another means by which you may give your troop an appearance of numerical strength beyond reality consists in posting, in and out between the troopers, so many lines of grooms[2] who should carry lances if possible, or staves at any rate to look like lances—a plan which will serve alike whether you mean to display your cavalry force at the halt or are deploying to increase front: in either case, obviously the bulk and volume of the force, whatever your formation, will appear increased. Conversely, if the problem be to make large numbers appear small, supposing you have ground at command adapted to concealment, the thing is simple: by leaving a portion of your men exposed and hiding away a portion in obscurity, you may effect your object.[3] But if the ground nowhere admits of cover, your best course is to form your files[4] into ranks one behind the other, and wheel them round so as to leave intervals between each file; the troopers nearest the enemy in each file will keep their lances erect, and the rest low enough not to show above.

To come to the next topic: you may work on the enemy's fears by the various devices of mock ambuscades, sham relief parties, false information. Conversely, his confidence will

[1] *ἐμπειρία*, "empirical knowledge."

[2] Cf. Polyaen. II. i. 17, of Agesilaus in Macedonia, 394 B.C. (our author was probably present); IV. iv. 3, of Antipater in Thessaly, 323 B.C.

[3] Lit. "*steal* your troopers." See note 1, preceding page. See *Cyrop.* V. iv. 48.

[4] Lit. "form your *decads* (squads of ten; cf. our 'fours') in ranks and deploy with intervals."

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reach an overweening pitch, if the idea gets abroad that his opponents have troubles of their own and little leisure for offensive operations.

But over and beyond all that can be written on the subject — inventiveness is a personal matter, beyond all formulas—the true general must be able to take in, deceive, decoy, delude his adversary at every turn, as the particular occasion demands. In fact, there is no instrument of war more cunning than chicanery;[1] which is not surprising when one reflects that even little boys, when playing "How many (marbles) have I got in my hand?"[2] are able to take one another in successfully. Out goes a clenched fist, but with such cunning that he who holds a few is thought to hold several; or he may present several and appear to be holding only a few. Is it likely that a grown man, giving his whole mind to methods of chicanery, will fail of similar inventiveness? Indeed, when one comes to consider what is meant by advantages snatched in war, one will find, I think, that the greater part of them, and those the more important, must be attributed in some way or other to displays of craft;[3] which things being so, a man had better either not attempt to exercise command, or, as part and parcel of his general equipment, let him pray to Heaven to enable him to exercise this faculty and be at pains himself to cultivate his own inventiveness.

A general, who has access to the sea, may exercise the faculty as follows: he may either, whilst apparently engaged in fitting out his vessels, strike a blow on land;[4] or with a make-believe of some aggressive design by land, hazard an adventure by sea.[5]

I consider it to be the duty of the cavalry commander to point out clearly to the state authority the essential weakness

[1] Cf. *Cyrop.* IV. ii. 26; VII. i. 18.

[2] *ποσίνδα*, lit. "How many?" (*i.e.* dice, nuts, marbles, etc.); cf. the old game, "Buck! buck! how many horns do I hold up?" Schneid. cf. Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 5. 4.

[3] "Have been won in connection with craft." See *Cyrop.* I. vi. 32; *Mem.* III. i. 6; IV. ii. 15.

[4] A ruse adopted by Jason, 371 B.C. Cf. *Hell.* VI. iv. 21 (Trans. vol. ii. p. 164).

[5] Cf. the tactics of the Athenians at Catana, 415 B.C. Thuc. vi. 64.

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of a force of cavalry unaided by light infantry, as opposed to cavalry with foot-soldiers attached.[1] It is his duty also, having got his footmen, to turn the force to good account. It is possible to conceal them effectively, not only between the lines, but in rear also of the troopers—the mounted soldier towering high above his follower on foot.

With regard to these devices and to any others which invention may suggest towards capturing the foeman by force or fraud, I have one common word of advice to add, which is, to act with God, and then while Heaven propitious smiles, fortune will scarcely dare to frown.[2]

At times there is no more effective fraud than a make-believe[3] of over-caution alien to the spirit of adventure. This itself will put the enemy off his guard and ten to one will lure him into some egregious blunder; or conversely, once get a reputation for foolhardiness established, and then with folded hands sit feigning future action, and see what a world of trouble you will thereby cause your adversary.

VI.—But, after all, no man, however great his plastic skill, can hope to mould and shape a work of art to suit his fancy, unless the stuff on which he works be first prepared and made ready to obey the craftsman's will. Nor certainly where the raw material consists of men, will you succeed, unless, under God's blessing, these same men have been prepared and made ready to meet their officer in a friendly spirit. They must come to look upon him as of greater sagacity than themselves in all that concerns encounter with the enemy. This friendly disposition on the part of his subordinates, one must suppose, will best be fostered by a corresponding sympathy on the part of their commander towards the men themselves, and that not by simple kindness but by the obvious pains he takes on their behalf, at one time to provide them with food, and at another to secure safety of retreat, or again by help of outposts and the like, to ensure protection during rest and sleep.

[1] Or, "divorced from infantry." In reference to ἄμιπποι, cf. Thuc. v. 57; *Hell.* VII. v. 23 (Trans. vol. ii. p. 232); and below, viii. 19, p. 29.

[2] Or, "and then by the grace of Heaven you may win the smiles of fortune," reading with Courier, etc., ἵνα καὶ ἡ τύχη συνεπαινῇ. Cf. *Cyrop.* III. iii. 20.

[3] § 15 should perhaps stand before § 13.

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When on active service[1] the commander must prove himself conspicuously careful in the matter of forage, quarters, water-supply, outposts,[2] and all other requisites; forecasting the future and keeping ever a wakeful eye in the interest of those under him; and in case of any advantage won, the truest gain which the head of affairs can reap is to share with his men the profits of success.

Indeed, to put the matter in a nutshell, there is small risk a general will be regarded with contempt by those he leads, if, whatever he may have to preach, he shows himself best able to perform.

Beginning with the simple art of mounting upon horseback, let him so train himself in all particulars of horsemanship that, to look at him, the men must see their leader is a horseman who can leap a trench unscathed or scale a parapet,[3] or gallop down a bank, and hurl a javelin with the best. These are accomplishments which one and all will pave the way to make contempt impossible. If, further, the men shall see in their commander one who, with the knowledge how to act, has force of will and cunning to make them get the better of the enemy; and if, further, they have got the notion well into their heads that this same leader may be trusted not to lead them recklessly against the foe, without the help of Heaven, or despite the auspices,—I say, you have a list of virtues which will make those under his command the more obedient to their ruler.

VII.—If prudence may be spoken of as the one quality distinctive of true generalship, there are two respects in which a general of cavalry at Athens should pre-eminently excel. Not only must he show a dutiful submission to the gods; but he must possess great fighting qualities, seeing that he has on his borders a rival cavalry equal to his own in number and backed by a large force of heavy infantry.[4] So that, if he undertake to invade the enemy's territory unsupported by the

[1] *Al.* "on garrison outpost duty."

[2] Reading φυλακῶν, or if with Courier θυλάκων, "haversacks," *i.e.* "*la farine*, le contenant pour le contenu." [3] Or, "stone walls," "dykes."

[4] The reference is doubtless to the Thebans. Unfortunately we do not know, on good authority, how many troops of either arm they had in the field at Leuctra or at Mantinea.

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other forces of the city,[1]—in dealing with two descriptions of forces single-handed, he and his cavalry must look for a desperate adventure; or to take the converse case, that the enemy invades the soil of Attica, to begin with, he will not invade at all, unless supported by other cavalry besides his own and an infantry force sufficient to warrant the supposition that no force on our side can cope with him.

Now, to deal with this vast hostile array, if only the city will determine to sally out *en masse* to protect her rural districts, the prospect is fair. Under God, our troopers, if properly cared for, are the finer men; our infantry of the line are no less numerous, and as regards physique, if it comes to that, not one whit inferior, while in reference to moral qualities, they are more susceptible to the spur of a noble ambition, if only under God's blessing they be correctly trained. Or again, as touching pride of ancestry, what have Athenians to fear as against Boeotians on that score?[2]

But suppose the city of Athens determine to betake herself to her navy, as in the old days when the Lacedaemonians, leagued with the rest of Hellas, brought invasion;[3] and is content once more simply to protect her walls through thick and thin. As to protecting what lies outside the city wall she looks to her cavalry for that; and single-handed her troopers must do desperate encounter against the united forces of the enemy. I say, under these circumstances, we shall need in the first place the strong support of Heaven; and in the second place, well will it be for us if our cavalry commander prove himself a consummate officer.[4] Indeed, he will have need of large wisdom to deal with a force so vastly superior in numbers, and of enterprise to strike when the critical moment comes.

He must also, as it appears to me, be capable of great physical endurance;[5] since clearly, if he has to run full tilt

[1] Lit. "without the rest of the city," *i.e.* the hoplites, etc.

[2] See above, *Mem.* III. v. 3, p. 92, where it is contended that in pride of ancestry Athenians can hold their own against Boeotians.

[3] See Thuc. ii. 13, 14, 22, etc., and in particular iv. 95, Hippocrates' speech before the battle of Delium, 424 B.C.

[4] A "parfait maréchal." See *Econ.* xiii. 1, note 2.

[5] So Jason, *Hell.* VI. i. 4 (Trans. vol. ii. p. 138).

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against an armament present, as we picture, in such force that not even our whole state cares to cope with it, it is plain he must accept whatever fate is due, where might is right, himself unable to retaliate.

If, on the contrary, he elect to guard the territory outside the walls [1] with a number just sufficient to keep a look-out on the enemy, and to withdraw into safe quarters from a distance whatever needs protection, — a small number, be it observed, is just as capable of vedette duty, as well able, say, to scan the distant horizon, as a large; and by the same token men with no great confidence in themselves or in their horses are not ill-qualified to guard or withdraw within shelter [2] the property of friends; since fear, as the proverb has it, makes a shrewd watchman. The proposal, therefore, to select from these a corps of observation will most likely prove true strategy. But what then of the residue not needed for outpost duty? If any one imagines he has got an armament, he will find it miserably small, and lacking in every qualification necessary to risk an open encounter.

But let him make up his mind to employ it in guerilla war, and he will find the force quite competent for that, I warrant. His business, so at least it seems to me, will be to keep his men perpetually in readiness to strike a blow, and without exposing himself, to play sentinel, waiting for any false move on the part of the hostile armament. And it is a way with soldiers, bear in mind, the more numerous they are, the more blunders they commit. They must needs scatter of set purpose [3] in search of provisions; or through the disorder incidental to a march, some will advance and others lag behind, beyond a proper limit. Blunders like these, then, our hipparch must not let pass unpunished (unless he wishes the whole of Attica to become a gigantic camp); [4] keeping this

[1] Or, "His better plan would be to."

[2] Reading ἀναχωρίζειν. Cf. *Cyrop.* II. ii. 8; *Anab.* V. ii. 10; or if ἀναχωρεῖν εἰς, transl. "or retire into safe quarters." See *Hell.* IV. vi. 4 (Transl. vol. ii. p. 71).

[3] ἐπιμελείᾳ. Cf. *Cyrop.* V. iii. 47.

[4] Lit. "or else the whole of Attica will be one encampment." As at the date of the fortification of Decelea (413 B.C.), which permanently commanded the whole country. See Thuc. vii. 27. *Al.* Courier, "autrement vous n'avez plus de camp, ou pour mieux dire, tout le pays devient votre camp."

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single point steadily in view, that when he strikes a blow he must be expeditious and retire before the main body has time to rally to the rescue.

Again, it frequently happens on the march, that an army will get into roads where numbers are no advantage. Again, in the passage of rivers, defiles, and the like, it is possible for a general with a head on his shoulders to hang on the heels of an enemy in security, and to determine with precision [1] the exact number of the enemy he will care to deal with. Occasionally the fine chance occurs to attack the foe while encamping or breakfasting or supping, or as the men turn out of bed: seasons at which the soldier is apt to be unharnessed—the hoplite for a shorter, the cavalry trooper for a longer period.[2]

As to vedettes and advanced outposts, you should never cease planning and plotting against them. For these in their turn, as a rule, are apt to consist of small numbers, and are sometimes posted at a great distance from their own main body. But if after all it turns out that the enemy are well on their guard against all such attempts, then, God helping, it would be a feat of arms to steal into the enemy's country, first making it your business to ascertain [3] his defences, the number of men at this, that, and the other point, and how they are distributed throughout the country. For there is no booty so splendid as an outpost so overmastered; and these frontier outposts are especially prone to be deceived, with their propensity to give chase to any small body they set eyes on, regarding that as their peculiar function. You will have to see, however, in retiring that your line of retreat is not right into the jaws of the enemy's reliefs hastening to the scene of action.

VIII.—It stands to reason, however, that in order to be able to inflict real damage upon a greatly superior force, the weaker combatant must possess such a moral superiority over the other as shall enable him to appear in the position of an

[1] See *Anab.* II. v. 18 (Trans. vol. i. p. 136); *Cyrop.* III. iii. 47; IV. i. 18. ταμιεύσασθαι, "with the precision of a controller."

[2] Cf. *Hell.* II. iv. 6; VII. i. 16.

[3] Or, "having first studied." Cf. *Mem.* III. vi. 10.

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expert, trained in all the feats of cavalry performance in the field, and leave his enemy to play the part of raw recruits or amateurs.[1]

And this end may be secured primarily on this wise: those who are to form your guerilla bands[2] must be so hardened and inured to the saddle that they are capable of undergoing all the toils of a campaign.[3] That a squadron (and I speak of horse and man alike) should enter these lists in careless, disorderly fashion suggests the idea of a troop of women stepping into the arena to cope with male antagonists.

But reverse the picture. Suppose men and horses to have been taught and trained to leap trenches and scale dykes, to spring up banks, and plunge from heights without scathe, to gallop headlong at full speed adown a steep: they will tower over unpractised opponents as the birds of the air tower over creatures that crawl and walk.[4] Their feet are case-hardened by constant training, and, when it comes to tramping over rough ground, must differ from the uninitiated as the sound man from the lame. And so again, when it comes to charging and retiring, the onward-dashing gallop, the well-skilled, timely retreat, expert knowledge of the ground and scenery will assert superiority over inexpertness like that of eyesight over blindness.

Nor should it be forgotten, that in order to be in thorough efficiency the horses must not only be well fed and in good condition, but at the same time so seasoned by toil that they will go through their work without the risk of becoming broken-winded. And lastly, as bits and saddle-cloths (to be efficient)[5] need to be attached by straps, a cavalry general should never be without a good supply, whereby at a trifling expense he may convert a number of nonplussed troopers into serviceable fighting men.[6]

But if any one is disposed to dwell on the amount of

[1] Cf. *Cyrop.* I. v. 11; *Mem.* III. vii. 7.

[2] Or, add, "for buccaneers and free-lances you must be."

[3] Lit. "every toil a soldier can encounter."

[4] See *Horse.* viii. 6 (below, p. 57); cf. *Hunting*, xii. 2 (below, p. 118); *Cyrop.* I. vi. 28 foll.

[5] [χρήσιμα] L. D. For the ὑπόμνημα itself cf. *Cyrop.* VI. ii. 32.

[6] Or, "thus at a trifling outlay he will be able to render so many non-efficients useful." *Al.* "make the articles as good as new."

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trouble it will cost him, if he is required to devote himself to horsemanship so assiduously, let him console himself with the reflection that the pains and labours undergone by any man in training for a gymnastic contest are far larger and more formidable than any which the severest training of the horseman will involve; and for this reason, that the greater part of gymnastic exercises are performed "in the sweat of the brow," while equestrian exercise is performed with pleasure. Indeed, there is no accomplishment which so nearly realises the aspiration of a man to have the wings of a bird than this of horsemanship.[1] But further, to a victory obtained in war attaches a far greater weight of glory than belongs to the noblest contest of the arena.[2] Of these the state indeed will share her meed of glory,[3] but in honour of victory in war the very gods are wont to crown whole states with happiness.[4] So that, for my part, I know not if there be aught else which has a higher claim to be practised than the arts of war.

And this, too, is worth noting: that the buccaneer by sea, the privateersman, through long practice in endurance, is able to live at the expense of far superior powers. Yes, and the life of the freebooter is no less natural and appropriate to landsmen—I do not say, to those who can till and gather in the fruit of their fields, but to those who find themselves deprived of sustenance; since there is no alternative—either men must till their fields or live on the tillage of others, otherwise how will they find the means either of living or of obtaining peace?[5]

Here, too, is a maxim to engrave upon the memory: in charging a superior force, never to leave a difficult tract of ground in rear of your attack, since there is all the difference in the world between a stumble in flight and a stumble in pursuit.

[1] Cf. *Cyrop.* IV. iii. 15; Herod. iv. 132; Plat. *Rep.* v. 467 D.

[2] Cf. Eur. *Autolycus*, fr. 1, trans. by J. A. Symonds, *Greek Poets*, 2nd series, p. 283.

[3] Cf. Plut. *Pelop.* 34 (Clough, ii. p. 235): "And yet who would compare all the victories in the Pythian and Olympian games put together, with one of these enterprises of Pelopidas, of which he successfully performed so many?"

[4] "To bind about the brows of states happiness as a coronal."

[5] Cf. *Econ.* v. 7.

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There is another precaution which I feel called upon to note. Some generals,[1] in attacking a force which they imagine to be inferior to their own, will advance with a ridiculously insufficient force,[2] so that it is the merest accident if they do not experience the injury they were minded to inflict. Conversely, in attacking any enemy whose superiority is a well-known fact, they will bring the whole of their force into action.

Now, my maxim would be precisely converse: if you attack with a prospect of superiority, do not grudge employing all the power at your command; excess of victory[3] never yet caused any conqueror one pang of remorse.

But in any attempt to attack superior forces, in full certainty that, do what you can, you must eventually retire, it is far better, say I, under these circumstances to bring a fraction only of your whole force into action, which fraction should be the pick and flower of the troops at your command, both horses and men. A body of that size and quality will be able to strike a blow and to fall back with greater security. Whereas, if a general brings all his troops into action against a superior force, when he wishes to retire, certain things must happen: those of his men who are worse mounted will be captured, others through lack of skill in horsemanship will be thrown, and a third set be cut off owing to mere difficulties of ground; since it is impossible to find any large tract of country exactly what you would desire. If for no other reason, through sheer stress of numbers there will be collisions, and much damage done by kicks through mutual entanglement; whereas a pick of horse and men will be able to escape offhand,[4] especially if you have invention to create a scare in the minds of the pursuers by help of the moiety of troops who are out of action.[5] For this purpose false ambuscades will be of use.

[1] Or, "one knows of generals," *e.g.* Iphicrates at Oneion, 369 B.C. Cf. *Hell.* VI. v. 51 (Trans. vol. ii. p. 185 note); also Sketch, vol. i. p. cxxxix.

[2] Lit. "an absolutely weak force."

[3] Or, "a great and decided victory." Cf. *Hiero*, ii. 16.

[4] Or, "by themselves," reading ἐξ αὑτῶν, as L. Dind. suggests. Cf. Polyb. x. 40. 6, or if as vulg. ἐξ αὐτῶν (*sub.* χειρῶν, Weiske), transl. "to slip through their fingers."

[5] Zeune and other commentators cf. Liv. v. 38 (Diod. xiv. 114), but the part played by the Roman *subsidiarii* at the battle of the Allia, if indeed

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Another serviceable expedient will be to discover on which side a friendly force may suddenly appear and without risk to itself put a drag on the wheels of the pursuer. Nay, it is self-evident, I think, that, as far as work and speed are concerned, it is the small body which will assert its superiority more rapidly over the larger, and not *vice versa*,—not of course that the mere fact of being a small body will enable them to endure toil or give them wings; but simply it is easier to find five men than five hundred, who will take the requisite care and pains with their horses, and personally practise of their own accord the art of horsemanship.

But supposing the chance should occur of entering the lists against an equal number of the enemy's cavalry, according to my judgment it were no bad plan to split the squadron into divisions,[1] the first of which should be commanded by the squadron-leader, and the other by the ablest officer to be found. This second-officer[2] will for the time being follow in rear of the leading division with the squadron leader; and by and by, when the antagonist is in near proximity, and when the word of command is passed, form squadron to the front and charge the hostile ranks[3]—a manœuvre calculated, as I conceive, to bring the whole mass down upon the enemy with paralysing force, and to cause him some trouble to extricate himself. Ideally speaking, both divisions[4] will be backed by infantry kept concealed in rear of the cavalry; these will suddenly disclose themselves, and rushing to close quarters, in all probability clench the nail of victory.[5] So at any rate it strikes me, seeing as I do the effects of what is unexpected,—how, in the case of good things, the soul of man is filled to overflowing with joy, and again, in the case of

"una salus fugientibus," was scarcely happy. Would not *Hell.* VII. v. 26 (Trans. vol. ii. p. 232) be more to the point? The detachment of cavalry and infantry placed by Epaminondas "on certain crests, to create an apprehension in the minds of the Athenians" in that quarter of the field at Mantinea was a μηχάνημα of the kind here contemplated.

[1] Or, "troops."

[2] See above, ii. 5, p. 8, n. 6.

[3] Possibly on flank. See Courier, p. 35, on Spanish cavalry tactics.

[4] Lit. "supposing both divisions to be backed by footmen," etc. For these ἄμιπποι see above, v. 13, p. 21, n. 1.

[5] Or, "achieve a much more decisive victory." Cf. *Cyrop.* III. iii. 28.

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things terrible, paralysed with amazement. In proof of what I say, let any one reflect on the stupor into which a body of men with all the weight of numerical advantage on their side will be betrayed by falling into an ambuscade; or again, on the exaggerated terror mutually inspired in belligerents during the first few days, of finding themselves posted in face of one another.

To make these dispositions is not hard; the difficulty is to discover a body of men who will dash forward[1] and charge an enemy as above described intelligently and loyally, with an eager spirit and unfailing courage. That is a problem for a good cavalry general to solve. I mean an officer who must be competent so to assert himself in speech or action[2] that those under him will no longer hesitate. They will recognise of themselves that it is a good thing and a right to obey,[3] to follow their leader, to rush to close quarters with the foe. A desire will consume them to achieve some deed of glory and renown. A capacity will be given them patiently to abide by the resolution of their souls.

To turn to another matter, take the case in which you have two armies facing one another in battle order, or a pair of fortresses[4] belonging to rival powers, and in the space between all kinds of cavalry manœuvres are enacted, wheelings and charges and retreats.[5] Under such circumstances the custom usually is for either party after wheeling to set off at a slow pace and to gallop full speed only in the middle of the course. But now suppose that a commander, after making feint[6] in

[1] παρελῶντας, in reference to § 18 above, παρελαύνοι, "form squadron to the front."

[2] "To be this, he must be able as an orator as well as a man of action." Cf. *Mem.* II. iii. 11.

[3] Cf. Tennyson's *The Charge of the Light Brigade:*

Their's not to make reply,
Their's not to reason why,
Their's but to do and die.

[4] *Al.* "fields and farmsteads between."

[5] Or, "retirements," see *Horsemanship*, viii. 12 (below, p. 58); *Cyrop.* V. iv. 8; *Hell.* IV. iii. 6 (Trans. vol. ii. p. 53); *Ages.* ii. 3 (*ib.* p. 246).

[6] Or, "having preluded in this fashion." See Theocr. xxii. 102:

τὸν μὲν ἄναξ ἐτάραξεν ἐτώσια χερσὶ προδεικνὺς Πάντοθεν,

"feinting on every side" (A. Lang). *Al.* "having given due warning of his intention." Cf. Aristot. *H. A.* ix. 37.

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this style, presently on wheeling quickens for the charge and quickens to retire, — he will be able to hit the enemy far harder, and pull through absolutely without scathe himself most likely; through charging at full speed whilst in proximity to his own stronghold (or main body), and quickening to a gallop as he retires from the stronghold (or main body) of the enemy. If further, he could secretly contrive to leave behind four or five troopers, the bravest and best mounted of the squadron, it would give them an immense advantage in falling upon the enemy whilst wheeling to return to the charge.[1]

IX.—To read these observations over a few times will be sufficient, but for giving them effect the officer will need perpetually to act as circumstances require.[2] He must take in the situation at a glance, and carry out unflinchingly whatever is expedient for the moment. To set down in writing everything that he must do, is not a whit more possible than to know the future as a whole.[3] But of all hints and suggestions the most important to my mind is this: whatever you determine to be right, with diligence endeavour to perform. For be it tillage of the soil, or trading, or seafaring, or the art of ruling, without pains applied to bring the matter to perfection, the best theories in the world, the most correct conclusions, will be fruitless.

One thing I am prepared to insist on: it is clear to myself that by Heaven's help our total cavalry force might be much more quickly raised to the full quota of a thousand troopers,[4] and with far less friction to the mass of citizens, by the enrolment of two hundred foreign cavalry. Their acquisition will be doubly helpful, as intensifying the loyalty of the entire force and as kindling a mutual ambition to excel in manly virtue.

[1] Cf. Aristoph. *Knights*, 244 (Demosthenes calls to the hipparchs [?]):

ἄνδρες ἐγγύς· ἀλλ' ἀμύνου, καπαναστρέφου πάλιν.

[2] πρὸς τὸ παρατυγχάνον, lit. "to meet emergencies." Cf. Thuc. i. 122: "For war, least of all things, conforms to prescribed rules; it strikes out a path for itself when the moment comes" (Jowett).

[3] Or, "is about as feasible as to foretell each contingency hid in the womb of futurity."

[4] See Schneid. *ad loc.*; Boeckh, *P. E. A.* pp. 263, 264; Herod. vi. 112; Thuc. vi. 31; Aristoph. *Knights*, 223; Aeschin. *De F. L.* 334-337. See for this reform, Trans. vol. i. p. cxl.; vol. ii. lxxxii.; Martin, *op. cit.* 343, 368.

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I can state on my own knowledge that the Lacedaemonian cavalry only began to be famous[1] with the introduction of foreign troopers; and in the other states of Hellas everywhere the foreign brigades stand in high esteem, as I perceive. Need, in fact, contributes greatly to enthusiasm. Towards the necessary cost of the horses I hold that an ample fund will be provided,[2] partly out of the pockets of those who are only too glad to escape cavalry service (in other words, those on whom the service devolves prefer to pay a sum of money down and be quit of the duty),[3] and from wealthy men who are physically incompetent; and I do not see why orphans possessed of large estates should not contribute.[4] Another belief I hold is that amongst our resident aliens[5] there are some who will show a laudable ambition if incorporated with the cavalry. I argue from the fact, apparent to myself, that amongst this class persons are to be found most zealously disposed to carry out the part assigned to them, in every other branch of honourable service which the citizens may choose to share with them. Again, it strikes me that if you seek for an energetic infantry to support your cavalry, you will find it in a corps composed of individuals whose hatred to the foe is naturally intense.[6] But the success of the above suggestions will depend doubtless on the consenting will of Heaven.[7]

And now if the repetition of the phrase throughout this treatise "act with God," surprises any one, he may take my word for it that with the daily or hourly occurrence of perils which must betide him, his wonderment will diminish; as

[1] "Entered on an era of prestige with the incorporation of," after Leuctra, 371 B.C., when the force was at its worst. See *Hell.* VI. iv. 10 (Trans. vol. ii. p. 161).

[2] Or, "money will be forthcoming for them." Cf. Lys. *Against Philon*, xxxi. 15; Martin, *op. cit.* 319.

[3] Cf. *Hell.* III. iv. 15; *Ages.* i. 23. Courier brackets this sentence [ὅτι . . . ἱππεύειν] as a gloss; Martin, p. 323, emends.

[4] As to the legal exemption of orphans Schneid. cf. Dem. *Symm.* 182. 15; Lys. *Against Diogeit.* 24.

[5] Lit. "metoecs." See *Revenues*, ii. (Trans. vol. ii. pp. 329, 330).

[6] Lit. "men the most antagonistic to the enemy." Is the author thinking of Boeotian émigrés? Cf. *Hell.* VI. iii. 1, 5 (Trans. vol. ii. pp. 152 foll.); Diod. xv. 46. 6.

[7] Lit. "with the consenting will of the gods these things all may come to pass."

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also with the clearer recognition of the fact that in time of war the antagonists are full of designs against each other, but the precise issue of these plots and counterplots is rarely known. To what counsellor, then, can a man apply for advice in his extremity save only to the gods, who know all things and forewarn whomsoever they will by victims or by omens, by voice or vision? Is it not rational to suppose that they will prefer to help in their need, not those who only seek them in time of momentary stress and trouble, but those rather who in the halcyon days of their prosperity make a practice of rendering to Heaven the service of heart and soul?[1]

[1] See Sketch (Trans. vol. i. p. cxlvii.).

NOTE ON III. 9 (above, p. 12).

I am indebted to a friend for the following suggestion in reference to these manœuvres: "The point, I think, is that the squadrons wheeled about, and the leader being on the wheeling or outer flank could set the pace and bring the men round quicker. Possibly it was executed first one way and then the reverse to make a kind of endless chain—like our 'musical rides.' Then the leader would have to move from flank to flank."

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ON HORSEMANSHIP

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ON HORSEMANSHIP

I. 1

1.—CLAIMING to have attained to some proficiency in horsemanship[1] ourselves, as the result of long experience in the field, our wish is to explain, for the benefit of our younger friends, what we conceive to be the most correct method of dealing with horses.

There is, it is true, a treatise on horsemanship written by Simon, the same who dedicated the bronze horse near the Eleusinion in Athens[2] with a representation of his exploits engraved in relief on the pedestal.[3] But we shall not on that account expunge from our treatise any conclusions in which we happen to agree with that author; on the contrary we

[1] Lit. "Since, through the accident of having for a long time 'ridden' ourselves, we believe we have become proficients in horsemanship, we wish to show to our younger friends how, as we conceive the matter, they will proceed most correctly in dealing with horses." ἱππεύειν in the case of Xenophon = serve as a ἱππεύς, whether technically as an Athenian "knight" (see Trans. vol. i. p. lxxi.) or more particularly in reference to his organisation of a troop of cavalry during "the retreat" (*Anab.* III. iii. 8-20), and, as is commonly believed, while serving under Agesilaus (*Hell.* III. iv. 14) in Asia, 396, 395 B.C.; see *Sketch*, p. cxiii.

[2] L. Dind. [in Athens]. The Eleusinion. For the position of this sanctuary of Demêter and Koré see Leake, *Top. of Athens*, i. p. 296 foll. For Simon see Sauppe, vol. v. Praef. to *de R. E.* p. 230; L. Dind. Praef. *Xen. Opusc.* p. xx.; Dr. Morris H. Morgan, *The Art of Horsemanship by Xenophon*, p. 119 foll. A fragment of the work referred to, περὶ εἴδους καὶ ἐκλογῆς ἵππων, exists. The MS. is in the library of Emmanuel Coll. Cant. It so happens that one of the hipparchs (?) appealed to by Demosthenes in Arist. *Knights*, 242,

> ἄνδρες ἱππῆς, παραγένεσθε· νῦν ὁ καιρός, ὦ Σίμων,
> ὦ Παναίτι', οὐκ ἐλᾶτε πρὸς τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας;

bears the name.

[3] Lit. "and carved on the pedestal a representation of his own performances."

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shall hand them on with still greater pleasure to our friends, in the belief that we shall only gain in authority from the fact that so great an expert in horsemanship held similar views to our own; whilst with regard to matters omitted in his treatise, we shall endeavour to supply them.

As our first topic we shall deal with the question, how a man may best avoid being cheated in the purchase of a horse.

Take the case of a foal as yet unbroken: it is plain that our scrutiny must begin with the body; an animal that has never yet been mounted can but present the vaguest indications of spirit. Confining ourselves therefore to the body, the first point to examine, we maintain, will be the feet. Just as a house would be of little use, however beautiful its upper stories, if the underlying foundations were not what they ought to be, so there is little use to be extracted from a horse, and in particular a war-horse,[1] if unsound in his feet, however excellent his other points; since he could not turn a single one of them to good account.[2]

In testing the feet the first thing to examine will be the horny portion of the hoof. For soundness of foot a thick horn is far better than a thin. Again it is important to notice whether the hoofs are high both before and behind, or flat to the ground; for a high hoof keeps the "frog,"[3] as it is called, well off the ground; whereas a low hoof treads equally with the stoutest and softest part of the foot alike, the gait resembling that of a bandy-legged man.[4] "You may tell a good foot clearly by the ring," says Simon happily;[5] for the hollow hoof rings like a cymbal against the solid earth.[6]

And now that we have begun with the feet, let us ascend from this point to the rest of the body. The bones[7] above

[1] Or, "and that a charger, we will suppose." For the simile see *Mem.* III. i. 7.

[2] Cf. Hor. *Sat.* I. ii. 86:

> regibus hic mos est: ubi equos mercantur, opertos
> inspiciunt, ne, si facies, ut saepe, decora
> molli fulta pede est, emptorem inducat hiantem,
> quod pulchrae clunes, breve quod caput, ardua cervix.

and see Virg. *Georg.* iii. 72 foll.

[3] Lit. "the swallow."

[4] *Al.* "a knock-kneed person." See Stonehenge, *The Horse* (ed. 1892), pp. 3, 9.

[5] Or, "and he is right."

[6] Cf. Virg. *Georg.* iii. 88; Hor. *Epod.* xvi. 12.

[7] *i.e.* "the pasterns (μεσοκυνία) and the coffin should be 'sloping.'"

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the hoof and below the fetlock must not be too straight, like those of a goat; through not being properly elastic,[1] legs of this type will jar the rider, and are more liable to become inflamed. On the other hand, these bones must not be too low, or else the fetlock will be abraded or lacerated when the horse is galloped over clods and stones.

The bones of the shanks[2] ought to be thick, being as they are the columns on which the body rests; thick in themselves, that is, not puffed out with veins or flesh; or else in riding over hard ground they will inevitably be surcharged with blood, and varicose conditions be set up,[3] the legs becoming thick and puffy, whilst the skin recedes; and with this loosening of the skin the back sinew[4] is very apt to start and render the horse lame.

If the young horse in walking bends his knees flexibly, you may safely conjecture that when he comes to be ridden he will have flexible legs, since the quality of suppleness invariably increases with age.[5] Supple knees are highly esteemed and with good reason, rendering as they do the horse less liable to stumble or break down from fatigue than those of stiffer build.

Coming to the thighs below the shoulder-blades,[6] or arms, these if thick and muscular present a stronger and handsomer appearance, just as in the case of a human being. Again, a comparatively broad chest is better alike for strength and beauty, and better adapted to carry the legs well asunder, so that they will not overlap and interfere with one another. Again, the neck should not be set on dropping forward

[1] Or, "being too inflexible." Lit. "giving blow for blow, overmuch like anvil to hammer." [2] *i.e.* "the metacarpals and metatarsals."

[3] Or, "and become varicose, with the result that the shanks swell whilst the skin recedes from the bone."

[4] Or, "suspensory ligament"? Possibly Xenophon's anatomy is wrong, and he mistook the back sinew for a bone like the fibula. The part in question might intelligibly enough, if not technically, be termed περόνη, being of the brooch-pin order.

[5] Lit. "all horses bend their legs more flexibly as time advances."

[6] Lit. "*the thighs* below the shoulder-blades" are distinguished from "*the thighs* below the tail" (below, § 14). They correspond respectively to our "arms" (*i.e.* forearms) and "gaskins," and anatomically speaking = the *radius* (*os brachii*) and the *tibia*.

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from the chest, like a boar's, but, like that of a game-cock rather, it should shoot upwards to the crest, and be slack [1] along the curvature; whilst the head should be bony and the jawbone small. In this way the neck will be well in front of the rider, and the eye will command what lies before the horse's feet. A horse, moreover, of this build, however spirited, will be least capable of overmastering the rider,[2] since it is not by arching but by stretching out his neck and head that a horse endeavours to assert his power.[3]

It is important also to observe whether the jaws are soft or hard on one or other side, since as a rule a horse with unequal jaws [4] is liable to become hard-mouthed on one side.

Again, a prominent rather than a sunken eye is suggestive of alertness, and a horse of this type will have a wider range of vision.

And so of the nostrils: a wide-dilated nostril is at once better than a contracted one for respiration, and gives the animal a fiercer aspect. Note how, for instance, when one stallion is enraged against another, or when his spirit chafes in being ridden,[5] the nostrils at once become dilated.

A comparatively large crest and small ears give a more typical and horse-like appearance to the head, whilst lofty withers again allow the rider a surer seat and a stronger adhesion between the shoulders and the body.[6]

A "double spine," [7] again, is at once softer to sit on than a single, and more pleasing to the eye. So, too, a fairly deep side somewhat rounded towards the belly [8] will render the

[1] "Slack towards the flexure" (Stonehenge).

[2] Or, "of forcing the rider's hand and bolting."

[3] Or, "to display violence or run away."

[4] *i.e.* "whose bars are not equally sensitive."

[5] Or, "in the racecourse or on the exercising-ground how readily he distends his nostrils."

[6] Or if with L. D. [καὶ τῷ σώματι], transl. "adhesion to the horse's shoulders."

[7] Reading after Courier ῥάχις γε μήν. See Virg. *Georg.* iii. 87, "at duplex agitur per lumbos spina." "In a horse that is in good case, the back is broad, and the spine does not stick up like a ridge, but forms a kind of furrow on the back" (John Martyn); "a full back," as we say.

[8] Or, "in proportion to." See Courier (*Du Commandement de la Cavalerie et de l'Equitation:* deux livres de Xénophon, traduits par un officier d'artillerie à cheval), note *ad loc.* p. 83.

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animal at once easier to sit and stronger, and as a general rule better able to digest his food.[1]

The broader and shorter the loins the more easily will the horse raise his forequarters and bring up his hindquarters under him. Given these points, moreover, the belly will appear as small as possible, a portion of the body which if large is partly a disfigurement and partly tends to make the horse less strong and capable of carrying weight.[2]

The quarters should be broad and fleshy in correspondence with the sides and chest, and if they are also firm and solid throughout they will be all the lighter for the racecourse, and will render the horse in every way more fleet.

To come to the thighs (and buttocks):[3] if the horse have these separated by a broad line of demarcation[4] he will be able to plant his hind-legs under him with a good gap between;[5] and in so doing will assume a posture[6] and a gait in action at once prouder and more firmly balanced, and in every way appear to the best advantage.

The human subject would seem to point to this conclusion. When a man wants to lift anything from off the ground he essays to do so by placing the legs apart and not by bringing them together.

A horse ought not to have large testicles, though that is not a point to be determined in the colt.

And now, as regards the lower parts, the hocks,[7] or shanks and fetlocks and hoofs, we have only to repeat what has been said already about those of the fore-legs.

I will here note some indications by which one may

[1] *i.e.* "and keep in good condition."

[2] *Al.* "more feeble at once and ponderous in his gait."

[3] Lit. "the thighs beneath the tail." See above, § 7, p. 39, for this terminology.

[4] Reading πλατείᾳ τῇ γραμμῇ διωρισμένους ἔχῃ, *sc.* the perineum. *Al.* Courier (after Apsyrtus), *op. cit.* p. 14, πλατεῖς τε καὶ μὴ διεστραμμένους, "broad and not turned outwards."

[5] Or, "he will be sure to spread well behind," etc.

[6] τὴν ὑπόβασιν, tech. of the *crouching posture* assumed by the horse for mounting or "in doing the demi-passade" (so Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 126). See below, vi. 16; xi. 2.

[7] τῶν κάτωθεν ἀστραγάλων, ἢ κνημῶν, lit. "the under (or hinder?) knuckle-bones (hocks?) or shins"; *i.e.* anatomically speaking, the *os calcis*, *astragalus*, *tarsals*, and *metatarsal large* and *small*.

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forecast the probable size of the grown animal. The colt with the longest shanks at the moment of being foaled will grow into the biggest horse; the fact being—and it holds of all the domestic quadrupeds[1]—that with advance of time the legs hardly increase at all, while the rest of the body grows uniformly up to these, until it has attained its proper symmetry.

Such is the type[2] of colt and such the tests to be applied, with every prospect of getting a sound-footed, strong, and fleshy animal fine of form and large of stature. If changes in some instances develop during growth, that need not prevent us from applying our tests in confidence. It far more often happens that an ugly-looking colt will turn out serviceable,[3] than that a foal of the above description will turn out ugly or defective.

II.—The right method of breaking a colt needs no description at our hands.[4] As a matter of state organisation,[5] cavalry duties usually devolve upon those who are not stinted in means, and who have a considerable share in the government;[6] and it seems far better for a young man to give heed to his own health of body and to horsemanship, or, if he already knows how to ride with skill, to practising manœuvres, than that he should set up as a trainer of horses.[7] The older man has his town property and his friends, and the hundred-and-one concerns of state or of war, on which to employ his time and energies rather than on horsebreaking. It is plain then that any one holding my views[8] on the subject will

[1] Cf. Aristot. *de Part. Anim.* iv. 10; *H. A.* ii. 1; Plin. *N. H.* xi. 108.

[2] Lit. "By testing the shape of a colt in this way it seems to us the purchaser will get," etc.

[3] For the vulg. *εὐχρόαστοι*, a doubtful word = "well coloured," *i.e.* "sleek and healthy," L. & S. would read *εὔχροοι* (cf. *Pol. Lac.* v. 8). L. Dind. conj. *εὔρωστοι*, "robust"; Schneid. *εὔχρηστοι*, "serviceable."

[4] Or, "The training of the colt is a topic which, as it seems to us, may fairly be omitted, since those appointed for cavalry service in these states are persons who," etc. For reading see Courier, *Notes*, p. 84.

[5] "Organisation in the several states."

[6] Or, "As a matter of fact it is the wealthiest members of the state, and those who have the largest stake in civic life, that are appointed to cavalry duties." See *Hipparch*, i. 9.

[7] Cf. *Econ.* iii. 10.

[8] *ἐγώ*. Hitherto the author has used the plural *ἡμῖν* with which he started.

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put a young horse out to be broken. But in so doing he ought to draw up articles, just as a father does when he apprentices his son to some art or handicraft, stating what sort of knowledge the young creature is to be sent back possessed of. These will serve as indications [1] to the trainer what points he must pay special heed to if he is to earn his fee. At the same time pains should be taken on the owner's part to see that the colt is gentle, tractable, and affectionate,[2] when delivered to the professional trainer. That is a condition of things which for the most part may be brought about at home and by the groom — if he knows how to let the animal connect [3] hunger and thirst and the annoyance of flies with solitude, whilst associating food and drink and escape from sources of irritation with the presence of man. As the result of this treatment, necessarily the young horse will acquire — not fondness merely, but an absolute craving for human beings. A good deal can be done by touching, stroking, patting those parts of the body which the creature likes to have so handled. These are the hairiest parts, or where, if there is anything annoying him, the horse can least of all apply relief himself.

The groom should have standing orders to take his charge through crowds, and to make him familiar with all sorts of sights and noises; and if the colt shows signs of apprehension at them,[4] he must teach him—not by cruel, but by gentle handling—that they are not really formidable.

On this topic, then, of training,[5] the rules here given will, I think, suffice for any private individual.

III.—To meet the case in which the object is to buy a horse already fit for riding, we will set down certain memoranda,[6]

[1] Reading *ὑποδείγματα*, "finger-post signs," as it were, or "draft in outline"; *al.* *ὑπομνήματα* = "memoranda."

[2] "Gentle, and accustomed to the hand, and fond of man."

[3] Lit. "if he knows how to provide that hunger and thirst, etc., should be felt by the colt in solitude, whilst food and drink, etc., come through help of man."

[4] Or, "is disposed to shy."

[5] Or, "In reference to horsebreaking, the above remarks will perhaps be found sufficient for the practical guidance of an amateur."

[6] "Which the purchaser should lay to heart, if he does not wish to be cheated."

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which, if applied intelligently, may save the purchaser from being cheated.

First, then, let there be no mistake about the age. If the horse has lost his mark teeth,[1] not only will the purchaser's hopes be blighted, but he may find himself saddled for ever with a sorry bargain.[2]

Given that the fact of youth is well established, let there be no mistake about another matter: how does he take the bit into his mouth and the headstall[3] over his ears? There need be little ambiguity on this score, if the purchaser will see the bit inserted and again removed, under his eyes. Next, let it be carefully noted how the horse stands being mounted. Many horses are extremely loath to admit the approach of anything which, if once accepted, clearly means to them enforced exertion.

Another point to ascertain is whether the horse, when mounted, can be induced to leave other horses, or when being ridden past a group of horses standing, will not bolt off to join the company. Some horses again, as the result of bad training, will run away from the exercising-ground and make for the stable. A hard mouth may be detected by the exercise called the πέδη or *volte*,[4] and still more so by varying the direction of the *volte* to right or left. Many horses will not attempt to run away except for the concurrence of a bad mouth along with an avenue of escape home.[5]

Another point which it is necessary to learn is, whether when let go at full speed the horse can be pulled up[6] sharp and is willing to wheel round in obedience to the rein.

It is well also to ascertain by experience if the horse you

[1] Or, "the milk teeth," *i.e.* is more than five years old. See Morgan, p. 126.

[2] Lit. "a horse that has lost his milk teeth cannot be said to gladden his owner's mind with hopes, and is not so easily disposed of."

[3] κορυφαία, part of the χαλινός gear. See below, 6 foll.

[4] See Sturz, *s.v.*; Pollux, i. 219. *Al.* "the *longe*," but the passage below (vii. 14) is suggestive rather of the *volte*.

[5] *Al.* "will only attempt to bolt where the passage out towards home combines, as it were, with a bad mouth." ἡ . . . ἐκφορά = "the exit from the manège or riding school."

[6] ἀναλαμβάνεται, "come to the poise" (Morgan). For ἀποστρέφεσθαι see ix. 6; tech. "caracole."

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propose to purchase will show equal docility in response to the whip. Every one knows what a useless thing a servant is, or a body of troops, that will not obey. A disobedient horse is not only useless, but may easily play the part of an arrant traitor.

And since it is assumed that the horse to be purchased is intended for war, we must widen our test to include everything which war itself can bring to the proof: such as leaping ditches, scrambling over walls, scaling up and springing off high banks. We must test his paces by galloping him up and down steep pitches and sharp inclines and along a slant. For each and all of these will serve as a touchstone to gauge the endurance of his spirit and the soundness of his body.

I am far from saying, indeed, that because an animal fails to perform all these parts to perfection, he must straightway be rejected; since many a horse will fall short at first, not from inability, but from want of experience. With teaching, practice, and habit, almost any horse will come to perform all these feats beautifully, provided he be sound and free from vice. Only you must beware of a horse that is naturally of a nervous temperament. An over-timorous animal will not only prevent the rider from using the vantage-ground of its back to strike an enemy, but is as likely as not to bring him to earth himself and plunge him into the worst of straits.

We must, also, find out if the horse shows any viciousness towards other horses or towards human beings; also, whether he is skittish;[1] such defects are apt to cause his owner trouble.

As to any reluctance on the horse's part to being bitted or mounted, dancing and twisting about and the rest,[2] you will get a more exact idea on this score, if, when he has gone through his work, you will try to repeat the precise operations which he went through before you began your ride. Any horse that having done his work shows a readiness to undergo it all again, affords sufficient evidence thereby of spirit and endurance.

[1] Or, "very ticklish."

[2] Reading *τἆλλα διανεύματα*, lit. "and the rest of his twistings and twirlings about."

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To put the matter in a nutshell: given that the horse is sound-footed, gentle, moderately fast, willing and able to undergo toil, and above all things [1] obedient—such an animal, we venture to predict, will give the least trouble and the greatest security to his rider in the circumstances of war; while, conversely, a beast who either out of sluggishness needs much driving, or from excess of mettle much coaxing and manœuvring, will give his rider work enough to occupy both his hands and a sinking of the heart when dangers thicken.

IV.—We will now suppose the purchaser has found a horse which he admires; [2] the purchase is effected, and he has brought him home — how is he to be housed? It is best that the stable should be placed in a quarter of the establishment where the master will see the horse as often as possible.[3] It is a good thing also to have his stall so arranged that there will be as little risk of the horse's food being stolen from the manger, as of the master's from his larder or store-closet. To neglect a detail of this kind is surely to neglect oneself; since in the hour of danger, it is certain, the owner has to consign himself, life and limb, to the safe keeping of his horse.

Nor is it only to avoid the risk of food being stolen that a secure horse-box is desirable, but for the further reason that if the horse takes to scattering his food, the action is at once detected; and any one who observes that happening may take it as a sign and symptom either of too much blood,[4] which calls for veterinary aid, or of over-fatigue, for which rest is the cure, or else that an attack of indigestion [5] or some other malady is coming on. And just as with human beings, so with the horse, all diseases are more curable at their commencement [6] than after they have become chronic, or been wrongly treated.[7]

[1] *Al.* "thoroughly."

[2] Lit. "To proceed: when you have bought a horse which you admire and have brought him home."

[3] *i.e.* "where he will be brought as frequently as possible under the master's eye." Cf. *Econ.* xii. 20.

[4] "A plethoric condition of the blood."

[5] κριθίασις. Lit. "barley surfeit"; "*une fourbure.*" See Aristot. *H. A.* viii. 24. 4.

[6] *i.e.* "in the early acute stage."

[7] *Al.* "and the mischief has spread."

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But if food and exercise with a view to strengthening the horse's body are matters of prime consideration, no less important is it to pay attention to the feet. A stable with a damp and smooth floor will spoil the best hoof which nature can give.[1] To prevent the floor being damp, it should be sloped with channels; and to avoid smoothness, paved with cobble stones sunk side by side in the ground and similar in size to the horse's hoofs.[2] A stable floor of this sort is calculated to strengthen the horse's feet by the mere pressure on the part in standing. In the next place it will be the groom's business to lead out the horse somewhere to comb and curry him; and after his morning's feed to unhalter him from the manger,[3] so that he may come to his evening meal with greater relish. To secure the best type of stable-yard, and with a view to strengthening the horse's feet, I would suggest to take and throw down loosely[4] four or five waggon-loads of pebbles, each as large as can be grasped in the hand, and about a pound in weight; the whole to be fenced round with a skirting of iron to prevent scattering. The mere standing on these will come to precisely the same thing as if for a certain portion of the day the horse were, off and on, stepping along a stony road; whilst being curried or when fidgeted by flies he will be forced to use his hoofs just as much as if he were walking. Nor is it the hoofs merely, but a surface so strewn with stones will tend to harden the frog of the foot also.

But if care is needed to make the hoofs hard, similar pains should be taken to make the mouth and jaws soft; and the same means and appliances which will render a man's flesh and skin soft, will serve to soften and supple a horse's mouth.[5]

v.—It is the duty of a horseman, as we think, to have his groom trained thoroughly in all that concerns the treat-

[1] Lit. "A damp and smooth stable floor may be the ruin of a naturally good hoof." It will be understood that the Greeks did not shoe their horses.

[2] See Courier, p. 54, for an interesting experiment tried by himself at Bari.

[3] Cf. *Hipparch*, i. 16 (above, p. 4).

[4] Or, "spread so as to form a surface."

[5] Or, "may be used with like effect on a horse's mouth," *i.e.* bathing, friction, oil. See Pollux, i. 201.

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ment of the horse. In the first place, then, the groom should know that he is never to knot the halter[1] at the point where the headstall is attached to the horse's head. By constantly rubbing his head against the manger, if the halter does not sit quite loose about his ears, the horse will be constantly injuring himself;[2] and with sores so set up, it is inevitable that he should show peevishness, while being bitted or rubbed down.

It is desirable that the groom should be ordered to carry out the dung and litter of the horse to some one place each day. By so doing, he will discharge the duty with least trouble to himself,[3] and at the same time be doing the horse a kindness.

The groom should also be instructed to attach the muzzle to the horse's mouth, both when taking him out to be groomed and to the rolling-ground.[4] In fact he should always muzzle him whenever he takes him anywhere without the bit. The muzzle, while it is no hindrance to respiration, prevents biting; and when attached it serves to rob the horse of opportunity for vice.[5]

Again, care should be taken to tie the horse up with the halter above his head. A horse's natural instinct, in trying to rid himself of anything that irritates the face, is to toss up his head, and by this upward movement, if so tied, he only slackens the chain instead of snapping it. In rubbing the horse down, the groom should begin with the head and mane; as until the upper parts are clean, it is vain to cleanse the lower; then, as regards the rest of the body, first brush up the hair, by help of all the ordinary implements for cleansing, and then beat out the dust, following the lie of the hair. The hair on the spine (and dorsal region) ought not to be touched with any instrument whatever; the hand alone should be used to rub and smooth it, and in the direction of its natural growth,

[1] Lit. "by which the horse is tied to the manger"; "*licol d'écurie.*"

[2] *Al.* "in nine cases out of ten he rubs his head . . . and ten to one will make a sore."

[3] *Al.* "get rid of the refuse in the easiest way."

[4] Cf. *Econ.* xi. 18; Aristoph. *Clouds*, 32.

[5] Or, "prevents the horse from carrying out vicious designs."

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so as to preserve from injury that part of the horse's back on which the rider sits.

The head should be drenched with water simply; for, being bony, if you try to cleanse it with iron or wooden instruments injury may be caused. So, too, the forelock should be merely wetted; the long hairs of which it is composed, without hindering the animal's vision, serve to scare away from the eyes anything that might trouble them. Providence, we must suppose,[1] bestowed these hairs upon the horse, instead of the large ears which are given to the ass and the mule as a protection to the eyes.[2] The tail, again, and mane should be washed, the object being to help the hairs to grow—those in the tail so as to allow the creature the greatest reach possible in brushing away molesting objects,[3] and those of the neck in order that the rider may have as free a grip as possible.

Mane, forelock, and tail are triple gifts bestowed by the gods upon the horse for the sake of pride and ornament,[4] and here is the proof: a brood mare, so long as her mane is long and flowing, will not readily suffer herself to be covered by an ass; hence breeders of mules take care to clip the mane of the mare with a view to covering.[5]

Washing of the legs we are inclined to dispense with—no good is done but rather harm to the hoofs by this daily washing. So, too, excessive cleansing of the belly is to be discouraged; the operation itself is most annoying to the horse; and the cleaner these parts are made, the thicker the swarm of troublesome things which collect beneath the belly. Besides which, however elaborately you clean these parts, the horse is no sooner led out than presently he will be just as dirty as if he had not been cleaned. Omit these ablutions then, we say; and similarly for the legs, rubbing and currying by hand is quite sufficient.

[1] Lit. "The gods, we must suppose, gave . . ."

[2] Lit. "as defences or protective bulwarks."

[3] Insects, etc.

[4] ἀγλαΐας ἕνεκα (a poetic word). Cf. *Od.* xv. 78; xvii. 310.

[5] For this belief Schneid. cf. Aristot. *H. A.* vi. 18; Plin. viii. 42; Aelian, *H. A.* ii. 10, xi. 18, xii. 16, to which Dr. Morgan aptly adds Soph. *Fr.* 587 (*Tyro*), a beautiful passage, κόμης δὲ πένθος λαγχάνω πώλου δίκην, κ.τ.λ. (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 754 A).

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VI.—We will now explain how the operation of grooming may be performed with least danger to oneself and best advantage to the horse. If the groom attempts to clean the horse with his face turned the same way as the horse, he runs the risk of getting a knock in the face from the animal's knee or hoof. When cleaning him he should turn his face in the opposite direction to the horse, and planting himself well out of the way of his leg, at an angle to his shoulder-blade, proceed to rub him down. He will then escape all mischief, and he will be able to clean the frog by folding back the hoof. Let him clean the hind-legs in the same way.

The man who has to do with the horse should know, with regard to this and all other necessary operations, that he ought to approach as little as possible from the head or the tail to perform them; for if the horse attempt to show vice he is master of the man in front and rear. But by approaching from the side he will get the greatest hold over the horse with the least risk of injury to himself.

When the horse has to be led, we do not approve of leading him from in front, for the simple reason that the person so leading him robs himself of his power of self-protection, whilst he leaves the horse freedom to do what he likes. On the other hand, we take a like exception to the plan of training the horse to go forward on a long rein [1] and lead the way, and for this reason: it gives the horse the opportunity of mischief, in whichever direction he likes, on either flank, and the power also to turn right about and face his driver. How can a troop of horses be kept free of one another, if driven in this fashion from behind?—whereas a horse accustomed to be led from the side will have least power for mischief to horse or man, and at the same time be in the best position to be mounted by the rider at a moment's notice, were it necessary.

In order to insert the bit correctly the groom should, in the first place, approach on the near [2] side of the horse, and then throwing the reins over his head, let them drop loosely

[1] See a passage from Strattis, *Chrys.* 2 (Pollux, x. 55), *πρόσαγε τὸν πῶλον ἀτρέμα, προσλαβὼν τὸν ἀγωγέα βραχύτερον. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι ἄβολός ἐστιν;*

[2] Lit. "on the left-hand side."

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on the withers; raise the headstall in his right hand, and with his left present the bit. If the horse will take the bit, it is a simple business to adjust the strap of the headstall; but if he refuses to open his mouth, the groom must hold the bit against the teeth and at the same time insert the thumb[1] of his left hand inside the horse's jaws. Most horses will open their mouths to that operation. But if he still refuses, then the groom must press the lip against the tush[2]; very few horses will refuse the bit, when that is done to them.[3]

The groom should be taught two fundamental lessons: in the first place, never to lead the horse by a single rein, the effect of which is to make the horse hard-mouthed on one side; in the next place, at what distance from the jaws to keep the bit; for if it lies too much against them, it will make the mouth callous and consequently less sensitive; or if it is allowed to drop far forward in the mouth, it gives the horse the opportunity of taking it between his teeth and refusing to obey.

The groom can hardly be too much alive to the following points * * * if any work is to be done:[4] in fact, so important is it that the horse should readily take his bit, that, to put it tersely, a horse that will not take it is good for nothing. Now, if the horse be bitted not only when he has work to do, but also when he is being taken to his food and when he is being led home from a ride, it would be no great marvel if he learnt to take the bit of his own accord, when first presented to him.

It would be good for the groom to know how to give a leg up in the Persian fashion,[5] so that in case of illness or infirmity of age the master himself may have a man to help him on to horseback without trouble, or, if he so wish, be able to oblige a friend with a man to mount him.[6]

[1] *τὸν μέγαν δάκτυλον*, Hdt. iii. 8.

[2] *i.e.* "canine tooth."

[3] Or, "it is a very exceptional horse that will not open his mouth under the circumstances."

[4] Reading with L. Dind. *χρὴ δὲ τὸν ἱππικόμον καὶ τὰ τοιάδε . . . παρωξῦνθαι, εἴ τι δεῖ πονεῖν*, or if as Schneid., Sauppe, etc., *χρὴ δὲ τὸν ἵππον μὴ κατὰ τοιάδε*, κ.τ.λ., transl. "the horse must not be irritated in such operations as these," etc.; but *τοιάδε* = "as follows," if correct, suggests a lacuna in either case at this point.

[5] Cf. *Anab.* IV. iv. 4; *Hipparch*, i. 17; *Cyrop.* VII. i. 38.

[6] An *ἀναβολεύς*. Cf. Plut. *C. Gracch.* 7.

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The one best precept—the golden rule—in dealing with a horse is never to approach him angrily. Anger is so devoid of forethought that it will often drive a man to do things which in a calmer mood he will regret.[1] Thus, when a horse is shy of any object and refuses to approach it, you must teach him that there is nothing to be alarmed at, particularly if he be a plucky animal;[2] or, failing that, touch the formidable object yourself, and then gently lead the horse up to it. The opposite plan of forcing the frightened creature by blows only intensifies its fear, the horse mentally associating the pain he suffers at such a moment with the object of suspicion, which he naturally regards as its cause.

If, when the groom brings up the horse to his master to mount, he knows how to make him lower his back,[3] to facilitate mounting, we have no fault to find. Still, we consider that the horseman should practise and be able to mount, even if the horse does not so lend himself;[4] since on another occasion another type of horse may fall to the rider's lot,[5] nor can the same rider be always served by the same equerry.[6]

VII.—The master, let us suppose, has received his horse and is ready to mount.[7] We will now prescribe certain rules to be observed in the interests not only of the horseman but of the animal which he bestrides. First, then, he should take the leading rein, which hangs from the chin-strap or nose-band,[8] conveniently in his left hand, held slack so as not to

[1] Cf. *Hell.* v. iii. 7 (Trans. vol. ii. p. 114) for this maxim.

[2] *Al.* "if possibly by help of another and plucky animal."

[3] ὑποβιβάζεσθαι. See above, i. 14; Pollux, i. 213; Morgan *ad loc.* "Stirrups were unknown till long after the Christian era began."

[4] Or, "apart from these good graces on the animal's part."

[5] As a member of the cavalry.

[6] Reading ἄλλῳ. *Al.* reading ἄλλως with L. D., "and the same horse will at one time humour you in one way and again in another." Cf. viii. 13, x. 12, for ὑπηρετεῖν of the horse.

[7] Reading ὅταν . . . παραδέξηται . . . ὡς ἀναβησόμενος. Or, reading ὅταν παραδέξηται τὸν ἵππέα (*sc.* ὁ ἵππος) ὡς ἀναβησόμενον, transl. "the horse has been brought round ready for mounting."

[8] So Courier, "*la muserolle.*" It might be merely a stitched leather strap or made of a chain in part, which rattled; as χρυσοχάλινον πάταγον ψαλίων (Aristoph. *Peace*, 155) implies. "Curb" would be misleading.

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jerk the horse's mouth, whether he means to mount by hoisting himself up, catching hold of the mane beside the ears, or to vault on to horseback by help of his spear. With the right hand he should grip the reins along with a tuft of hair beside the shoulder-joint,[1] so that he may not in any way wrench the horse's mouth with the bit while mounting. In the act of taking the spring off the ground for mounting,[2] he should hoist his body by help of the left hand, and with the right at full stretch assist the upward movement[3] (a position in mounting which will present a graceful spectacle also from behind);[4] at the same time with the leg well bent, and taking care not to place his knee on the horse's back, he must pass his leg clean over to the off side; and so having brought his foot well round, plant himself firmly on his seat.[5]

To meet the case in which the horseman may chance to be leading his horse with the left hand and carrying his spear in the right, it would be good, we think, for every one to practise vaulting on to his seat from the right side also. In fact, he has nothing else to learn except to do with his right limbs what he has previously done with the left, and *vice versa*. And the reason we approve of this method of mounting is[6] that it enables the soldier at one and the same instant to get astride of his horse and to find himself prepared at all points, supposing he should have to enter the lists of battle on a sudden.

But now, supposing the rider fairly seated, whether bare-back or on a saddle-cloth, a good seat is not that of a man seated on a chair, but rather the pose of a man standing upright with his legs apart. In this way he will be able to hold on to the horse more firmly by his thighs; and this

[1] "Near the withers."

[2] Or, "as soon as he has got the springing poise preliminary to mounting."

[3] "Give himself simultaneously a lift." Reading *ἐκτείνων*, or if *ἐντείνων*, "keeping his right arm stiff."

[4] Or, "a style of mounting which will obviate an ungainly attitude behind."

[5] Lit. "lower his buttocks on to the horse's back."

[6] Lit. "One reason for the praise which we bestow on this method of mounting is that at the very instant of gaining his seat the soldier finds himself fully prepared to engage the enemy on a sudden, if occasion need."

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erect attitude will enable him to hurl a javelin or to strike a blow from horseback, if occasion calls, with more vigorous effect. The leg and foot should hang loosely from the knee; by keeping the leg stiff, the rider is apt to have it broken in collision with some obstacle; whereas a flexible leg[1] will yield to the impact, and at the same time not shift the thigh from its position. The rider should also accustom the whole of his body above the hips to be as supple as possible; for thus he will enlarge his scope of action, and in case of a tug or shove be less liable to be unseated. Next, when the rider is seated, he must, in the first place, teach his horse to stand quiet, until he has drawn his skirts from under him, if need be,[2] and got the reins an equal length and grasped his spear in the handiest fashion; and, in the next place, he should keep his left arm close to his side. This position will give the rider absolute ease and freedom,[3] and his hand the firmest hold.

As to reins, we recommend those which are well balanced, without being weak or slippery or thick, so that when necessary the hand which holds them can also grasp a spear.

As soon as the rider gives the signal to the horse to start,[4] he should begin at a walking pace, which will tend to allay his excitement. If the horse is inclined to droop his head, the reins should be held pretty high; or somewhat low, if he is disposed to carry his head high. This will set off the horse's bearing to the best advantage. Presently, as he falls into a natural trot,[5] he will gradually relax his limbs without the slightest suffering, and so come more agreeably to the gallop.[6] Since, too, the preference is given to starting on the left foot, it will best conduce to that lead if, while the horse is still trotting, the signal to gallop should be given at the instant of making a step with his right foot.[7] As he is on the point of lifting his left foot he will start upon it, and while turning left will simultaneously make

[1] *i.e.* "below the knee"; "shin and calf."
[2] Lit. "pulled up" (and arranged the folds of his mantle).
[3] εὐσταλέστατος, "the most business-like deportment."
[4] "Forwards!"
[5] Or, "the true trot."
[6] ἐπιρραβδοφορεῖν, "a fast pace in response to a wave of the whip."
[7] See Berenger, i. p. 249; also the *Cavalry Drill Book*, Part I. Equitation, § 22, *The Canter*.

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the first bound of the gallop;[1] since, as a matter of instinct, a horse, on being turned to the right, leads off with his right limbs, and to the left with his left.

As an exercise, we recommend what is called the volte,[2] since it habituates the animal to turn to either hand; while a variation in the order of the turn is good as involving an equalisation of both sides of the mouth, in first one, and then the other half of the exercise.[3] But of the two we commend the oval form of volte rather than the circular; for the horse, being already sated with the straight course, will be all the more ready to turn, and will be practised at once in the straight course and in wheeling. At the curve, he should be held up,[4] because it is neither easy nor indeed safe when the horse is at full speed to turn sharp, especially if the ground is broken[5] or slippery.

But in collecting him, the rider should as little as possible sway the horse obliquely with the bit, and as little as possible incline his own body; or, he may rest assured, a trifle will suffice to stretch him and his horse full length upon the ground. The moment the horse has his eyes fixed on the straight course after making a turn, is the time to urge him to full speed. In battle, obviously, these turns and wheelings are with a view to charging or retiring; consequently, to practise quickening the pace after wheeling is desirable. When the horse seems to have had enough of the manège, it would be good to give him a slight pause, and then suddenly to put him to his quickest, away from his fellows first,[6] and now towards them; and then again to quiet him down in mid-career as short as possible;[7] and from the halt once more to turn him right-about and off again full charge. It is easy to predict that the day will come when there will be need of each of these manœuvres.

[1] *τῆς ἐπισκελίσεως*, "he will make the forward stride of the gallop in the act of turning to the left." See Morgan *ad loc.*

[2] *πέδη*, figure of eight. See above, iii. 5.

[3] Or, "on first one and then the other half of the manège."

[4] *ὑπολαμβάνειν*. See *Hipparch*, iii. 14, p. 13; *Hunting*, iii. 10; vi. 22, of a dog.

[5] *ἀπόκροτον*, *al. ἐπίκροτον*, "beaten, hard-trodden ground."

[6] *μέντοι*, "of course."

[7] Or, "within the narrowest compass"; "as finely as possible."

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When the moment to dismount has come, you should never do so among other horses, nor near a group of people,[1] nor outside the exercising-ground; but on the precise spot which is the scene of his compulsory exertion there let the horse find also relaxation.[2]

VIII.—As there will, doubtless, be times when the horse will need to race downhill and uphill and on sloping ground; times, also, when he will need to leap across an obstacle; or, take a flying leap from off a bank;[3] or, jump down from a height, the rider must teach and train himself and his horse to meet all emergencies. In this way the two will have a chance of saving each the other, and may be expected to increase their usefulness.

And here, if any reader should accuse us of repeating ourselves, on the ground that we are only stating now what we said before on the same topics,[4] we say that this is not mere repetition. In the former case, we confined ourselves to advising the purchaser before he concluded his bargain to test whether the horse could do those particular things;[5] what we are now maintaining is that the owner ought to teach his own horse, and we will explain how this teaching is to be done.

With a horse entirely ignorant of leaping, the best way is to take him by the leading rein, which hangs loose, and to get across the trench yourself first, and then to pull tight on the leading-rein, to induce him to leap across. If he refuses, some one with a whip or switch should apply it smartly. The result will be that the horse will clear at a bound, not the distance merely, but a far larger space than requisite; and for the future there will be no need of an actual blow, the mere sight of some one coming up behind will suffice to make him leap. As soon as he is accustomed to leap in this way you

[1] Or, "a knot of bystanders"; cf. Thuc. ii. 21.

[2] Or, as we say, "be caressed, and dismissed."

[3] ἐκπηδᾶν=*exsilire in altum* (Sturz, and so Berenger); "to leap over ditches, and *upon high places* and down from them."

[4] Or, "treating of a topic already handled," above, iii. 7, 8.

[5] *i.e.* possessed a certain ability at the date of purchase.

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may mount him and put him first at smaller and then at larger trenches. At the moment of the spring be ready to apply the spur; and so too, when training him to leap up and leap down, you should touch him with the spur at the critical instant. In the effort to perform any of these actions with the whole body, the horse will certainly perform them with more safety to himself and to his rider than he will, if his hind-quarters lag, in taking a ditch or fence, or in making an upward spring or downward jump.[1]

To face a steep incline, you must first teach him on soft ground, and finally, when he is accustomed to that, he will much prefer the downward to the upward slope for a fast pace. And as to the apprehension, which some people entertain, that a horse may dislocate the shoulder in galloping down an incline, it should encourage them to learn that the Persians and Odrysians all run races down precipitous slopes;[2] and their horses are every bit as sound as our own.[3]

Nor must we omit another topic: how the rider is to accommodate himself to these several movements.[4] Thus, when the horse breaks off into a gallop, the rider ought to bend forward, since the horse will be less likely to slip from under; and so to pitch his rider off. So again in pulling him up short[5] the rider should lean back; and thus escape a shock. In leaping a ditch or tearing up a steep incline, it is no bad plan to let go the reins and take hold of the mane, so that the animal may not feel the burthen of the bit in addition to that of the ground. In going down a steep incline the rider must throw himself right back and hold in the horse with the bit, to prevent being hurled headforemost down the slope himself if not his horse.

It is a correct principle to vary these exercises, which should be gone through sometimes in one place and sometimes in

[1] Lit. "in making these jumps, springs, and leaps across or up or down."

[2] Cf. *Anab.* IV. viii. 28 (Trans. vol. i. p. 209); and so the Georgians to this day (Chardin ap. Courier, *op. cit.* p. 70, n. 1).

[3] Lit. "as are those of the Hellenes."

[4] Or, "to each set of occurrences."

[5] *Al.* "when the horse is being brought to a poise" (Morgan); and see Hermann ap. Schneid., *ἀναλαμβάνειν = retinere equum, anhalten, pariren. i.e.* "rein in" of the "*Parade.*"

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another, and should sometimes be shorter and sometimes longer in duration. The horse will take much more kindly to them if you do not confine him to one place and one routine.

Since it is a matter of prime necessity that the rider should keep his seat, while galloping full speed on every sort of ground, and at the same time be able to use his weapons with effect on horseback, nothing could be better, where the country suits and there are wild animals, than to practise horsemanship in combination with the chase. But when these resources fail, a good exercise may be supplied in the combined efforts of two horsemen.[1] One of them will play the part of fugitive, retreating helter-skelter over every sort of ground, with lance reversed and plying the butt end. The other pursues, with buttons on his javelins and his lance similarly handled.[2] Whenever he comes within javelin range he lets fly at the retreating foeman with his blunted missiles; or whenever within spear-thrust he deals the overtaken combatant a blow. In coming to close quarters, it is a good plan first to drag the foeman towards oneself, and then on a sudden to thrust him off; that is a device to bring him to the ground.[3] The correct plan for the man so dragged is to press his horse forward: by which action the man who is being dragged is more likely to unhorse his assailant than to be brought to the ground himself.

If it ever happens that you have an enemy's camp in front, and cavalry skirmishing is the order of the day (at one time charging the enemy right up to the hostile battle-line, and again beating a retreat), under these circumstances it is well to bear in mind that so long as the skirmisher is close to his own party,[4] valour and discretion alike dictate to wheel and charge in the vanguard might and main; but when he finds himself in close proximity to the foe, he must keep his horse well in hand. This, in all probability, will enable him to do the greatest mischief to the enemy, and to receive least damage at his hands.

The gods have bestowed on man, indeed, the gift of

[1] *ἱππόται*. A poetic word; "cavaliers." [2] Or, "manipulated."
[3] Or, "that may be spoken of as the 'purl trick'"; "it will unhorse him if anything." [4] See *Hipparch*, viii. 23 (above, p. 30).

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teaching man his duty by means of speech and reasoning, but the horse, it is obvious, is not open to instruction by speech and reasoning. If you would have a horse learn to perform his duty,[1] your best plan will be, whenever he does as you wish, to show him some kindness in return, and when he is disobedient to chastise him. This principle, though capable of being stated in a few words, is one which holds good throughout the whole of horsemanship. As, for instance, a horse will more readily take the bit, if each time he accepts it some good befalls him; or, again, he will leap ditches and spring up embankments and perform all the other feats incumbent on him, if he be led to associate obedience to the word of command with relaxation.[2]

IX.—The topics hitherto considered have been: firstly, how to reduce the chance of being cheated in the purchase of a colt or full-grown horse; secondly, how to escape as much as possible the risk of injuring your purchase by mishandling; and lastly, how to succeed in turning out a horse possessed of all the qualities demanded by the cavalry soldier for the purposes of war.

The time has come perhaps to add a few suggestions, in case the rider should be called upon to deal with an animal either unduly spirited or again unduly sluggish in disposition. The first point to recognise is, that temper or spirit in a horse takes the place of passion or anger in a man; and just as you may best escape exciting a man's ill-temper by avoiding harshness of speech and act, so you will best avoid enraging a spirited horse by not annoying him. Thus, from the first instant, in the act of mounting him, you should take pains to minimise the annoyance; and once on his back you should sit quiet for longer than the ordinary time, and so urge him forward by the gentlest signs possible; next, beginning at the slowest pace, gradually work him into a quicker step, but so gradually that he will find himself at full speed without noticing it.[3] Any sudden signal will bewilder a spirited horse,

[1] See above, p. 52, note 6.

[2] Lit. "if every time he performs the word of command he is led to expect some relaxation."

[3] Or, "so that the horse may insensibly fall into a gallop."

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just as a man is bewildered by any sudden sight or sound or other experience. [I say one should be aware that any unexpected shock will produce disturbance in a horse.][1]

So if you wish to pull up a spirited horse when breaking off into a quicker pace than requisite, you must not suddenly wrench him, but quietly and gently bring the bit to bear upon him, coaxing him rather than compelling him to calm down. It is the long steady course rather than the frequent turn which tends to calm a horse.[2] A quiet pace sustained for a long time has a caressing,[3] soothing effect, the reverse of exciting. If any one proposes by a series of fast and oft-repeated gallops to produce a sense of weariness in the horse, and so to tame him, his expectation will not be justified by the result; for under such circumstances a spirited horse will do his best to carry the day by main force,[4] and with a show of temper, like a passionate man, may contrive to bring on himself and his rider irreparable mischief.

A spirited horse should be kept in check, so that he does not dash off full speed; and on the same principle, you should absolutely abstain from setting him to race against another; as a general rule, your fiery-spirited horse is only too fond of contention.[5]

Smooth bits are better and more serviceable than rough; if a rough bit be inserted at all, it must be made to resemble a smooth one as much as possible by lightness of hand.

It is a good thing also for the rider to accustom himself to keep a quiet seat, especially when mounted on a spirited horse; and also to touch him as little as possible with anything except that part of the body necessary to secure a firm seat.

Again, it should be known that the conventional "chirrup"[6]

[1] L. Dindorf and others bracket, as spurious.

[2] Or, "long stretches rather than a succession of turns and counter turns," *ἀποστροφαί*. See iii. 5, note 6.

[3] Reading *καταψῶσι* with L. Dind.

[4] *ἄγειν βίᾳ, vi agere, vi uti*, Sturz; *al.* "go his own gait by sheer force."

[5] Reading *σχεδὸν γὰρ καὶ φιλ. οἱ θυμ.*, or if . . . *οἱ φιλ. καὶ θ.* transl. "the more eager and ambitious a horse is, the more mettlesome he will tend to become."

[6] *Al.* "whistling," and see Berenger, ii. 68. *ποππυσμός*, a sound from the lips; *κλωγμός*, from the cheek.

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to quiet and "cluck" to rouse a horse are a sort of precept of the training school; and supposing any one from the beginning chose to associate soft soothing actions with the "cluck" sound, and harsh rousing actions with the "chirrup," the horse could be taught to rouse himself at the "chirrup" and to calm himself at the "cluck" sound. On this principle, at the sound of the trumpet or the shout of battle the rider should avoid coming up to his charger in a state of excitement, or, indeed, bringing any disturbing influence to bear on the animal. As far as possible, at such a crisis he should halt and rest him; and, if circumstances permit, give him his morning or his evening meal. But the best advice of all is not to get an over-spirited horse for the purposes of war.

As to the sluggish type of animal, I need only suggest to do everything the opposite to what we advise as appropriate in dealing with an animal of high spirit.

X.—But possibly you are not content with a horse serviceable for war. You want to find in him a showy, attractive animal, with a certain grandeur of bearing. If so, you must abstain from pulling at his mouth with the bit, or applying the spur and whip—methods commonly adopted by people with a view to a fine effect, though, as a matter of fact, they thereby achieve the very opposite of what they are aiming at. That is to say, by dragging the mouth up they render the horse blind instead of alive to what is in front of him; and what with spurring and whipping they distract the creature to the point of absolute bewilderment and danger.[1] Feats indeed!—the feats of horses with a strong dislike to being ridden —up to all sorts of ugly and ungainly tricks. On the contrary, let the horse be taught to be ridden on a loose bridle, and to hold his head high and arch his neck, and you will practically be making him perform the very acts which he himself delights or rather exults in; and the best proof of the pleasure which he takes is, that when he is let loose with other horses, and more particularly with mares, you will see him rear his head aloft to the full height, and arch his neck

[1] *Al.* "the animals are so scared that, the chances are, they are thrown into disorder."

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with nervous vigour,[1] pawing the air with pliant legs[2] and waving his tail on high. By training him to adopt the very airs and graces which he naturally assumes when showing off to best advantage, you have got what you are aiming at—a horse that delights in being ridden, a splendid and showy animal, the joy of all beholders.

How these desirable results are, in our opinion, to be produced, we will now endeavour to explain. In the first place, then, you ought to have at least two bits. One of these should be smooth, with discs of a good size; the other should have heavy and flat discs[3] studded with sharp spikes, so that when the horse seizes it and dislikes the roughness he will drop it; then when the smooth is given him instead, he is delighted with its smoothness, and whatever he has learnt before upon the rough, he will perform with greater relish on the smooth. He may certainly, out of contempt for its very smoothness, perpetually try to get a purchase on it, and that is why we attach large discs to the smooth bit, the effect of which is to make him open his mouth, and drop the mouthpiece. It is possible to make the rough bit of every degree of roughness by keeping it slack or taut.

But, whatever the type of bit may be, let it in any case be flexible. If it be stiff, at whatever point the horse seizes it he must take it up bodily against his jaws; just as it does not matter at what point a man takes hold of a bar of iron,[4] he lifts it as a whole. The other flexibly constructed type acts like a chain (only the single point at which you hold it remains stiff, the rest hangs loose); and while perpetually hunting for the portion which escapes him, he lets the mouthpiece go from his bars.[5] For this reason the rings are hung in the middle from the two axles,[6] so that while feeling for

[1] γοργούμενος, with pride and spirit, but with a suggestion of "fierceness and rage," as of Job's war-horse.

[2] "Mollia crura reponit," Virg. *Georg.* iii. 76; Hom. *Hymn. ad Merc.*

[3] See Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 144 foll.

[4] Or, "poker," as we might say; lit. "spit."

[5] Schneid. cf. Eur. *Hippol.* 1223.

[6] See Morgan, note *ad loc.* Berenger (i. 261) notes: "We have a small chain in the upset or hollow part of our bits, called a *Player*, with which the horse playing with his tongue, and rolling it about, keeps his mouth moist

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them with his tongue and teeth he may neglect to take the bit up against his jaws.

To explain what is meant by flexible and stiff as applied to a bit, we will describe the matter. A flexible bit is one in which the axles have their points of junction broad and smooth,[1] so as to bend easily; and where the several parts fitting round the axles, being large of aperture and not too closely packed, have greater flexibility; whereas, if the several parts do not slide to and fro with ease, and play into each other, that is what we call a stiff bit. Whatever the kind of bit may be, the rider must carry out precisely the same rules in using it, as follows, if he wishes to turn out a horse with the qualities described. The horse's mouth is not to be pulled back too harshly so as to make him toss his head aside, nor yet so gently that he will not feel the pressure. But the instant he raises his neck in answer to the pull, give him the bit at once; and so throughout, as we never cease repeating, at every response to your wishes, whenever and wherever the animal performs his service well,[2] reward and humour him. Thus, when the rider perceives that the horse takes a pleasure in the high arching and supple play of his neck, let him seize the instant not to impose severe exertion on him, like a taskmaster, but rather to caress and coax him, as if anxious to give him rest. In this way the horse will be encouraged and fall into a rapid pace.

That a horse takes pleasure in swift movement, may be shown conclusively. As soon as he has got his liberty, he sets off at a trot or gallop, never at a walking pace; so natural and instinctive a pleasure does this action afford him, if he is not forced to perform it to excess; since it is true of horse and man alike that nothing is pleasant if carried to excess.[3]

But now suppose he has attained to the grand style when ridden,—we have accustomed him of course in his first exercise

and fresh; and, as Xenophon hints, it may serve likewise to fix his attention and prevent him from writhing his mouth about, or as the French call it, *faire ses forces.*"

[1] *i.e.* "the ends of the axles (at the point of junction) which work into each other are broad and smooth, so as to play freely at the join."

[2] "Behaves compliantly." See above, p. 52, n. 6.

[3] L. Dind. cf. Eur. *Med.* 128, *τὰ δ' ὑπερβάλλοντ' οὐδένα καιρόν.*

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to wheel and fall into a canter simultaneously; assuming then, he has got that lesson well by heart, if the rider pulls him up with the bit while simultaneously giving him one of the signals to be off, the horse, galled on the one hand by the bit, and on the other collecting himself in obedience to the signal "off," will throw forward his chest and raise his legs aloft with fiery spirit; though not indeed with suppleness, for the supple play of the limbs ceases as soon as the horse feels annoyance. But now, supposing when his fire is thus enkindled[1] you give him the rein, the effect is instantaneous. Under the pleasurable sense of freedom, thanks to the relaxation of the bit, with stately bearing and legs pliantly moving he dashes forward in his pride, in every respect imitating the airs and graces of a horse approaching other horses.[2] Listen to the epithets with which spectators will describe the type of horse: the noble animal! and what willingness to work, what paces,[3] what a spirit, and what mettle; how proudly he bears himself[4]—a joy at once, and yet a terror to behold.

Thus far on this topic; these notes may serve perhaps to meet a special need.

XI.—If, however, the wish is to secure a horse adapted to parade and state processions, a high stepper and a showy[5] animal, these are qualities not to be found combined in every horse, but to begin with, the animal must have high spirit and a stalwart body. Not that, as some think, a horse with flexible legs will necessarily be able to rear his body. What we want is a horse with supple loins, and not supple only but short and strong (I do not mean the loins towards the tail, but by the belly the region between the ribs and thighs). That is the horse who will be able to plant his hind-legs well under the forearm. If while he is so planting his hind-

[1] Cf. *Hell.* V. iv. 46, "kindled into new life."

[2] See above, p. 61.

[3] ἱππαστήν, "a true soldier's horse."

[4] σοβαρόν, "what a push and swagger"; καὶ ἅμα ἡδύν τε καὶ γοργὸν ἰδεῖν, "à la fois doux et terrible à voir," see Victor Cherbuliez, *Un Cheval de Phidias*, p. 148.

[5] λαμπρός. Cf. Isae. xi. 41 (*On the estate of Hagnias*); Lys. xix. 63 (*de Bon. Arist.*).

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quarters, he is pulled up with the bit, he lowers his hind-legs on his hocks[1] and raises the forepart of his body, so that any one in front of him will see the whole length of his belly to the sheath.[2] At the moment the horse does this, the rider should give him the rein, so that he may display the noblest feats which a horse can perform of his own free will, to the satisfaction of all spectators.

There are, indeed, other methods of teaching these arts.[3] Some do so by touching the horse with a switch under the hocks, others employ an attendant to run alongside and strike the horse with a stick under the gaskins. For ourselves, however, far the best method of instruction,[4] as we keep repeating, is to let the horse feel that whatever he does in obedience to the rider's wishes will be followed by some rest and relaxation.

To quote a dictum of Simon, what a horse does under compulsion he does blindly, and his performance is no more beautiful than would be that of a ballet-dancer taught by whip and goad. The performances of horse or man so treated would seem to be displays of clumsy gestures rather than of grace and beauty. What we need is that the horse should of his own accord exhibit his finest airs and paces at set signals.[5] Supposing, when he is in the riding-field,[6] you push him to a gallop until he is bathed in sweat, and when he begins to prance and show his airs to fine effect, you promptly dismount and take off the bit, you may rely upon it he will of his own accord another time break into the same prancing action. Such are the horses on which gods and heroes ride, as represented by the artist. The majesty of men themselves is best discovered in the graceful handling of such animals.[7] A horse so prancing is indeed a thing of beauty, a

[1] See Berenger, ii. 68.

[2] Lit. "testicles."

[3] Lit. "People, it must be admitted, claim to teach these arts in various ways—some by . . . others by bidding . . ."

[4] Reading *διδασκαλιῶν*, *al.* *διδασκαλίων*, "systems." Schneid. cf. Herod. v. 58.

[5] Or, "by aids and signs," as we say.

[6] Or, "exercising-ground." See above, *Hipparch*, ii. 1.

[7] Or, "and the man who knows how to manage such a creature gracefully himself at once appears magnificent."

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wonder and a marvel; riveting the gaze of all who see him, young alike and graybeards. They will never turn their backs, I venture to predict, or weary of their gazing so long as he continues to display his splendid action.

If the possessor of so rare a creature should find himself by chance in the position of a squadron leader or a general of cavalry, he must not confine his zeal to the development of his personal splendour, but should study all the more to make the troop or regiment a splendid spectacle. Supposing (in accordance with the high praise bestowed upon the type of animal)[1] the leader is mounted on a horse which with his high airs and frequent prancing makes but the slightest movement forward—obviously the rest of the troop must follow at a walking pace, and one may fairly ask where is the element of splendour in the spectacle? But now suppose that you, sir, being at the head of the procession, rouse your horse and take the lead at a pace neither too fast nor yet too slow, but in a way to bring out the best qualities of all the animals, their spirit, fire, grace of mien and bearing ripe for action—I say, if you take the lead of them in this style, the collective thud, the general neighing and the snorting of the horses will combine to render not you only at the head, but your whole company[2] down to the last man a thrilling spectacle.

One word more. Supposing a man has shown some skill in purchasing his horses, and can rear them into strong and serviceable animals, supposing further he can handle them in the right way, not only in the training for war, but in exercises with a view to display, or lastly, in the stress of actual battle, what is there to prevent such a man from making every horse he owns of far more value in the end than when he bought it, with the further outlook that, unless some power higher than human interpose,[3] he will become the owner of a celebrated stable, and himself as celebrated for his skill in horsemanship.

[1] Reading as vulg. *ὡς μάλιστα ἐπαινοῦσι τοὺς τοιούτους ἵππους, ὅς.* L. Dind. omits the words as a gloss.

[2] Reading *οἱ* (for *ὅσοι*) *συμπαρεπόμενοι.* See Hartman, *An. Xen. Nov.* xiv. p. 343.

[3] Or, "there is nothing, humanly speaking, to prevent such a man." For the phrase see *Mem.* I. iii. 5; cf. *Cyrop.* I. vi. 18; and for the advice, *Econ.* iii. 9, 10.

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XII.—We will now describe the manner in which a trooper destined to run the risks of battle upon horseback should be armed. In the first place, then, we would insist, the corselet must be made to fit the person; since, if it fits well, its weight will be distributed over the whole body; whereas, if too loose, the shoulders will have all the weight to bear, while, if too tight, the corselet is no longer a defensive arm, but a "strait jacket."[1] Again, the neck, as being a vital part,[2] ought to have, as we maintain, a covering, appended to the corselet and close-fitting. This will serve as an ornament, and if made as it ought to be, will conceal the rider's face—if so he chooses—up to the nose.

As to the helmet, the best kind, in our opinion, is one of the Boeotian pattern,[3] on the principle again, that it covers all the parts exposed above the breastplate without hindering vision. Another point: the corselet should be so constructed that it does not prevent its wearer sitting down or stooping. About the abdomen and the genitals and parts surrounding[4] flaps should be attached in texture and in thickness sufficient to protect[5] that region.

Again, as an injury to the left hand may disable the horseman, we would recommend the newly-invented piece of armour called the gauntlet, which protects the shoulder, arm, and elbow, with the hand engaged in holding the reins, being so constructed as to extend and contract; in addition to which it covers the gap left by the corselet under the armpit. The case is different with the right hand, which the horseman must needs raise to discharge a javelin or strike a blow. Here, accordingly, any part of the corselet which would hinder action ought to be removed; in place of which the corselet ought to

[1] Cf. *Mem.* III. x.

[2] L. Dind. cf. Hom. *Il.* viii. 326:

. . . ὅθι κληῖς ἀποέργει
αὐχένα τε στῆθός τε, μάλιστα δὲ καίριόν ἐστιν.

"Where the collar-bone fenceth off neck and breast, and where is the most deadly spot" (W. Leaf).

[3] Schneider cf. Aelian, *V. H.* iii. 24; Pollux, i. 149.

[4] Schneider cf. *Anab.* IV. vii. 15, and for καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ, conj. κύκλῳ, "the abdomen and middle should be encircled by a skirt."

[5] Lit. "let there be wings of such sort, size, and number as to protect the limbs."

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have some extra flaps[1] at the joints, which as the outstretched arm is raised unfold, and as the arm descends close tight again. The arm itself,[2] it seems to us, will better be protected by a piece like a greave stretched over it rather than bound up with the corselet. Again, the part exposed when the right hand is raised should be covered close to the corselet either with calfskin or with metal; or else there will be a want of protection just at the most vital point.

Moreover, as any damage done to the horse will involve his rider in extreme peril, the horse also should be clad in armour —frontlet, breastplate, and thigh-pieces;[3] which latter may at the same time serve as cuisses for the mounted man. Beyond all else, the horse's belly, being the most vital and defenceless part, should be protected. It is possible, to protect it with the saddle-cloth. The saddle itself should be of such sort and so stitched as to give the rider a firm seat, and yet not gall the horse's back.

As regards the limbs in general, both horse and rider may be looked upon as fully armed. The only parts remaining are the shins and feet, which of course protrude beyond the cuisses, but these also may be armed by the addition of gaiters made of leather like that used for making sandals. And thus you will have at once defensive armour for the shins and stockings for the feet.

The above, with the blessing of heaven, will serve for armour of defence. To come to weapons of offence, we recommend the sabre rather than the straight sword,[4] since from the vantage-ground of the horseman's position the curved blade will descend with greater force than the ordinary weapon.

Again, in place of the long reed spear, which is apt to be weak and awkward to carry, we would substitute two darts of cornel-wood;[5] the one of which the skilful horseman can let

[1] προσθεταί, "movable," "false." For γιγγλύμοις L. & S. cf. Hipp. 411. 12; Aristot. *de An.* iii. 10. 9 = "ball-and-socket joints."

[2] *i.e.* "forearm."

[3] Cf. *Cyrop.* VI. iv. 1; VII. i. 2.

[4] The μάχαιρα (or κοπίς), Persian fashion, rather than the ξίφος. *Cyrop.* I. ii. 13.

[5] For these reforms, the result of the author's Asiatic experiences perhaps, see Sketch (Trans. vol. i. p. cxl.); and cf. *Hell.* III. iv. 14; *Anab.* I. viii. 3; *Cyrop.* I. ii. 9.

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fly, and still ply the one reserved in all directions, forwards, backwards,[1] and obliquely; add to that, these smaller weapons are not only stronger than the spear but far more manageable.

As regards range of discharge in shooting we are in favour of the longest possible, as giving more time to rally[2] and transfer the second javelin to the right hand. And here we will state shortly the most effective method of hurling the javelin. The horseman should throw forward his left side, while drawing back his right; then rising bodily from the thighs, he should let fly the missile with the point slightly upwards. The dart so discharged will carry with the greatest force and to the farthest distance; we may add, too, with the truest aim, if at the moment of discharge the lance be directed steadily on the object aimed at.[3]

This treatise, consisting of notes and suggestions, lessons and exercises suited to a private individual, must come to a conclusion; the theory and the practice of the matter suited to a cavalry commander will be found developed in the companion treatise.[4]

[1] Reading *εἰς τοὐπισθεν* after Leoncl. Cf. viii. 10 (above, p. 58).
[2] *Al.* "to turn right-about."
[3] "If the lance is steadily eyeing the mark at the instant of discharge."
[4] In reference to the treatise which has preceded on the office of a commander of cavalry.

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ON HUNTING

A SPORTSMAN'S MANUAL

COMMONLY CALLED

CYNEGETICUS

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ON HUNTING

A SPORTSMAN'S MANUAL

I. 1–4

1.—To the gods themselves is due the discovery,[1] to Apollo and Artemis, patrons of the chase and protectors of the hound.[2] As a guerdon they bestowed it upon Cheiron,[3] by reason of his uprightness, and he took it and was glad, and turned the gift to good account. At his feet sat many a disciple, to whom he taught the mystery of hunting and of chivalry[4] — to wit, Cephalus, Asclepius, Melanion, Nestor, Amphiaräus, Peleus, Telamon, Meleager, Theseus and Hippolytus, Palamedes, Odysseus, Menestheus, Diomed, Castor and Polydeuces, Machaon and Podaleirius, Antilochus, Aeneas and Achilles: of whom each in his turn was honoured by the gods. And let none marvel that of these the greater part, albeit well-pleasing to the gods, nevertheless were subject to death,—which is the way of nature,[5] but their fame has grown, —nor yet that their prime of manhood so far differed. The lifetime of Cheiron sufficed for all his scholars; the fact being that Zeus and Cheiron were brethren, sons of the same father but of different mothers—Zeus of Rhea, and Cheiron

[1] For the relation of this introduction to the treatise see Introd. Remarks.

[2] Or, "This thing is the invention of no mortal man, but of Apollo and Artemis, to whom belong hunting and dogs." For the style of exordium L. Dind. cf. (Ps.) Dion. *Art. rhet.* ad in.; Galen, *Isagog.* ad in.; Alex. Aphrodis. *Probl.* 2 proem.

[3] The wisest and "justest of all the centaurs," Hom. *Il.* xi. 831. See Kingsley, *The Heroes*, p. 84.

[4] Or, "the discipline of the hunting field and other noble lore."

[5] Lit. "since that is nature, but the praise of them grew greatly."

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of the nymph Naïs;[1] and so it is that, though older than all of them, he died not before he had taught the youngest—to wit, the boy Achilles.[2]

Thanks to the careful heed they paid to dogs and things pertaining to the chase, thanks also to the other training of their boyhood, all these greatly excelled, and on the score of virtue were admired.

If Cephalus was caught into the arms of one that was a goddess,[3] Asclepius[4] obtained yet greater honour. To him it was given to raise the dead and to heal the sick, whereby,[5] even as a god among mortal men, he has obtained to himself imperishable glory. Melanion[6] so far excelled in zest for toil that he alone of all that flower of chivalry who were his rivals[7] obtained the prize of noblest wedlock with Atalanta; while as to Nestor, what need to repeat the well-known tale? so far and wide for many a day has the fame of his virtue penetrated the ears of Hellas.[8]

Amphiaräus,[9] what time he served as a warrior against Thebes, won for himself the highest praise; and from heaven obtained the honour of a deathless life.[10]

Peleus kindled in the gods desire to give him Thetis, and to hymn their nuptials at the board of Cheiron.[11]

[1] According to others, Philyra. Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 1, ἤθελον Χείρωνά κε Φιλυρίδαν; cf. *Pyth.* vi. 22; *Nem.* iii. 43.

[2] See Paus. iii. 18. 12.

[3] Hêmera (*al.* Êos). For the rape of Cephalus see Hes. *Theog.* 986; Eur. *Ion*, 269; Paus. i. 3. 1; iii. 18. 7.

[4] *Lat.* Aesculapius. Father of Podaleirius and Machaon, "the noble leech," *Il.* ii. 731, iv. 194, 219, xi. 518; *Od.* iv. 232.

[5] Cf. *Anab.* I. ii. 8; Lincke, *s. Xen. Krit.* p. 299.

[6] Melanion, *s.* Meilanion, Paus. iii. 12. 9; v. 17. 10; v. 19. 1.

[7] "Which were his rival suitors." As to Atalanta see Paus. viii. 45. 2; iii. 24. 2; v. 19. 2; Grote, *H. G.* i. 199 foll.

[8] Lit. "the virtue of Nestor has so far penetrated the ears of Hellas that I should speak to those who know." See Hom. *Il.* i. 247, and passim.

[9] Amphiaräus. Pind. *Nem.* ix. 13-27; *Olymp.* vi. 11-16; Herod. i. 52; Paus. ix. 8. 2; 18. 2-4; ii. 23. 2; i. 34; Liv. xlv. 27; Cic. *de Div.* i. 40. See Aesch. *Sept. c. Th.* 392; Eur. *Phoen.* 1122 foll.; Apollod. iii. 6; Strab. ix. 399, 404.

[10] Lit. "to be honoured ever living."

[11] For the marriage of Peleus and Thetis see Hom. *Il.* xxiv. 61; cf. Pope's rendering:

> To grace those nuptials from the bright abode
> Yourselves were present; when this minstrel god
> (Well pleased to share the feast) amid the quire
> Stood proud to hymn, and tune his youthful lyre (*Homer's Il.* xxiv.).

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The mighty Telamon[1] won from the greatest of all states and wedded her whom he desired, Periboea the daughter of Alcathus;[2] and when the first of Hellenes,[3] Heracles[4] the son of Zeus, distributed rewards of valour after taking Troy, to Telamon he gave Hesione.[5]

Of Meleager[6] be it said that, whereas the honours which he won are manifest, the misfortunes on which he fell, when his father[7] in old age forgot the goddess, were not of his own causing.[8]

Theseus[9] single-handed destroyed the enemies of collective Hellas; and in that he greatly enlarged the boundaries of his fatherland, is still to-day the wonder of mankind.[10]

Hippolytus[11] was honoured by our lady Artemis and with her conversed,[12] and in his latter end, by reason of his sobriety and holiness, was reckoned among the blest.

Palamedes[13] all his days on earth far outshone those of his own times in wisdom, and when slain unjustly, won

Prof. Robinson Ellis (*Comment. on Catull.* lxiv.) cites numerous passages: Eur. *I. in T.* 701 foll., 1036 foll.; Pind. *Isthm.* v. 24; *Pyth.* iii. 87-96; Isocr. *Evag.* 192. 6; Apoll. Rh. iv. 791; *Il.* xxiv. 61; Hes. *Theog.* 1006, and *Epithal.* (ap. Tzetz, *Prol. ad Lycophr.*):

τρὶς μάκαρ Αἰακίδη καὶ τετράκις ὅλβιε Πηλεῦ
ὃς τοῖσδ' ἐν μεγάροις ἱερὸν λέχος εἰσαναβαίνεις.

[1] See *Il.* viii. 283; Paus. i. 42. 1-4.

[2] Or Alcathoüs, who rebuilt the walls of Megara by Apollo's aid. Ov. *Met.* viii. 15 foll.

[3] Reading ὁ πρῶτος; or if with L. D. τοῖς πρώτοις, "what time Heracles was distributing to the heroes of Hellas (lit. the first of the Hellenes) prizes of valour, to Telamon he gave." [4] See Hom. *Il.* v. 640; Strab. xiii. 595.

[5] See Diod. iv. 32; i. 42.

[6] For the legend of Meleager see *Il.* ix. 524-599, dramatised by both Sophocles and Euripides, and in our day by Swinburne, *Atalanta in Calydon.* Cf. Paus. iii. 8. 9; viii. 45. 4; Ov. *Met.* viii. 300; Grote, *H. G.* i. 195.

[7] *i.e.* Oeneus. *Il.* ix. 535.

[8] Or, "may not be laid to his charge."

[9] See *Mem.* II. i. 14; III. v. 10; cf. Isocr. *Phil.* 111; Plut. *Thes.* x. foll.; Diod. iv. 59; Ov. *Met.* vii. 433.

[10] Or "is held in admiration still to-day." See Thuc. ii. 15; Strab. ix. 397.

[11] See the play of Euripides. Paus. i. 22; Diod. iv. 62.

[12] *Al.* "lived on the lips of men." But cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 85, σοὶ καὶ ξύνειμι καὶ λόγοις σ' ἀμείβομαι. See Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. 6, for the Hippolytus-Virbius myth.

[13] As to Palamedes, son of Nauplius, his genius and treacherous death, see Grote, *H. G.* i. 400; *Mem.* IV. ii. 33; *Apol.* 26; Plat. *Apol.* 41; *Rep.* vii. 522; Eur. fr. *Palam.*; Ov. *Met.* xiii. 56; Paus. x. 31. 1; ii. 20. 3.

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from heaven a vengeance such as no other mortal man may boast of.[1] Yet died he not at their hands[2] whom some suppose; else how could the one of them have been accounted all but best, and the other a compeer of the good? No, not they, but base men wrought that deed.

Menestheus,[3] through diligence and patient care, the outcome of the chase, so far overshot all men in love of toil that even the chiefs of Hellas must confess themselves inferior in the concerns of war save Nestor only; and Nestor, it is said,[4] excelled not but alone might rival him.

Odysseus and Diomêdes[5] were brilliant for many a single deed of arms, and mainly to these two was due the taking of Troy town.[6]

Castor and Polydeuces,[7] by reason of their glorious display of arts obtained from Cheiron, and for the high honour and prestige therefrom derived, are now immortal.

Machaon and Podaleirius[8] were trained in this same lore, and proved themselves adepts in works of skill, in argument and feats of arms.[9]

Antilochus,[10] in that he died for his father, obtained so great a glory that, in the judgment of Hellas, to him alone belongs the title "philopator," "who loved his father."[11]

[1] For the vengeance see Schol. ad Eur. *Orest.* 422; Philostr. *Her.* x. Cf. Strab. viii. 6. 2 (368); Leake, *Morea*, ii. 358; Baedeker, *Greece*, 245.

[2] *i.e.* Odysseus and Diomed. (§ 11, I confess, strikes me as somewhat in Xenophon's manner.) See *Mem.* IV. ii. 33; *Apol.* 26.

[3] For Menestheus, who led the Athenians against Troy, cf. Hom. *Il.* ii. 552; iv. 327; Philostr. *Her.* ii. 16; Paus. ii. 25. 6; i. 17. 6; Plut. *Thes.* 32, 35.

[4] Or, "so runs the tale," *e.g.* in *The Catalogue.* See *Il.* ii. l.c.: Νέστωρ οἶος ἔριζεν, "Only Nestor rivalled him, for he was the elder by birth" (W. Leaf).

[5] The two heroes are frequently coupled in Homer, e.g. *Il.* v. 519; x. 241, etc.

[6] Or, "were brilliant in single points, and broadly speaking were the cause that Troy was taken." See Hygin. *Fab.* 108; Virg. *Aen.* ii. 163.

[7] Castor, Polydeuces, *s.* Pollux—the great twin brethren. See Grote, *H. G.* i. 232 foll.

[8] As to the two sons of Asclepius, Machaon and Podaleirius, the leaders of the Achaeans, see *Il.* ii. 728; Schol. ad Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 14; Paus. iii. 26; iv. 3; Strab. vi. 4 (284); Diod. iv. 71. 4; Grote, *H. G.* i. 248.

[9] Or, "in crafts, in reasonings, and in deeds of war."

[10] Antilochus, son of Nestor, slain by Memnon. *Od.* iv. 186 foll.; Pind. *Pyth.* vi. 28; Philostr. *Her.* iv.; *Icon.* ii. 281.

[11] Lit. "to be alone proclaimed Philopator among the Hellenes." Cf. Plat.

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Aeneas[1] saved the ancestral gods—his father's and his mother's;[2] yea, and his own father also, whereby he bore off a reputation for piety so great that to him alone among all on whom they laid their conquering hand in Troy even the enemy granted not to be despoiled.

Achilles,[3] lastly, being nursed in this same training, bequeathed to after-days memorials so fair, so ample, that to speak or hear concerning him no man wearies.

Such, by dint of that painstaking care derived from Cheiron, these all proved themselves; of whom all good men yet still to-day are lovers and all base men envious. So much so that if throughout the length and breadth of Hellas misfortunes at any time befell city or king, it was they who loosed the knot of them;[4] or if all Hellas found herself confronted with the hosts of the Barbarians in strife and battle, once again it was these who nerved the arms of Hellenes to victory and rendered Hellas unconquered and unconquerable.

For my part, then, my advice to the young is,[5] do not despise hunting or the other training of your boyhood, if you desire to grow up to be good men, good not only in war but in all else of which the issue is perfection in thought, word, and deed.

II.—The first efforts of a youth emerging from boyhood should be directed to the institution of the chase, after which he should come to the rest of education, provided he

Laws, 730 D, "He shall be proclaimed the great and perfect citizen, and bear away the palm of virtue"; and for the epithet see Eur. *Or.* 1605; *I. A.* 638.

[1] As to Aeneas see Poseidon's speech, *Il.* xx. 293 foll.; Grote, *H. G.* i. 413, 427 foll.

[2] Cf. *Hell.* II. iv. 21 (Trans. vol. i. p. 68).

[3] "The highest form that floated before Greek imagination was Achilles," Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* (Eng. tr. p. 233); and for a beautiful elaboration of that idea, J. A. Symonds, *Greek Poets*, 2nd series, ch. ii.

[4] Reading ἐλύοντο αὐτούς, or if as L. D., δι' αὐτούς, transl. "thanks to them, they were loosed."

[5] See Sketch (Trans. vol. i. p. lxxiv.); L. Dind. cf. (Ps.) Aristid. ii. 786.

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have the means and with an eye to the same; if his means be ample, in a style worthy of the profit to be derived; or, if they be scant, let him at any rate contribute enthusiasm, in nothing falling short of the power he possesses.

What are the aids and implements of divers sorts with which he who would enter on this field must equip himself? These and the theory of each in particular I will now explain. With a view to success in the work, forewarned is forearmed. Nor let such details be looked upon as insignificant. Without them there will be an end to practical results.[1]

The net-keeper should be a man with a real passion for the work, and in tongue a Hellene, about twenty years of age, of wiry build, agile at once and strong, with pluck enough to overcome the toils imposed on him,[2] and to take pleasure in the work.

The ordinary small nets should be made of fine Phasian or Carthaginian[3] flax, and so too should the road nets and the larger hayes.[4] These small nets should be nine-threaded [made of three strands, and each strand of three threads],[5] five spans[6] in depth,[7] and two palms[8] at the nooses or pockets.[9] There should be no knots in the cords that run round, which should be so inserted as to run quite smoothly.[10] The road net should be twelve-threaded, and the larger net (or haye) sixteen. They may be of different sizes, the former varying from twelve to twenty-four

[1] Or, "The question suggests itself—how many instruments and of what sort are required by any one wishing to enter this field? A list of these I propose to give, not omitting the theoretical side of the matter in each case, so that whoever lays his hand to this work may have some knowledge to go upon. It would be a mistake to regard these details as trivial. In fact, without them the undertaking might as well be let alone."

[2] *τούτοις*, "by this, that, or the other good quality."

[3] Phasian or Carchedonian. Cf. Pollux, v. 26.

[4] *ἄρκυς, ἐνόδια, δίκτυα.*

[5] [L. Dind. brackets.] See Pollux, v. 27, ap. Schn.

[6] *σπιθαμή*, a span (dodrans) = 7½ inches. Herod. ii. 106; *τρισπίθαμος*, Hes. *Op.* 424; Plat. *Alc.* i. 126 c; Aristot. *H. A.* viii. 28. 5; Polyb. v. 3-6.

[7] *τὸ μέγεθος*, see below, x. 2.

[8] Or, "eight fingers' breadth+" = 6 inches+. *παλαιστή* or *παλαστή*, a palm or four fingers' breadth = 3 inches+.

[9] *τοὺς βρόχους*, a purse or tunnel arrangement with slip loop. See below, vi. 7, 9; ix. 13, 15; x. 2, 7.

[10] Reading *ὑφείσθωσαν δὲ οἱ περίδρομοι ἀνάμματοι.* Lit. "the cords that run round should be inserted without knots." See Pollux, v. 28 foll.

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or thirty feet, the latter from sixty to one hundred and twenty or one hundred and eighty feet.[1] If larger they will be unwieldy and hard to manage. Both should be thirty-knotted, and the interval of the nooses the same as in the ordinary small nets. At the elbow ends[2] the road net should be furnished with nipples[3] (or eyes), and the larger sort (the haye) with rings, and both alike with a running line of twisted cord. The pronged stakes[4] for the small nets should be ten palms high,[5] as a rule, but there should be some shorter ones besides; those of unequal length will be convenient to equalise the height on uneven ground, and those of equal length on level. They should be sharp-tipped so as to draw out easily[6] and smooth throughout. Those for the road nets should be twice the height,[7] and those for the big (haye) nets five spans long,[8] with small forks, the notches not deep; they should be stout and solid, of a thickness proportionate to their length. The number of props needed for the nets will vary—many or few, according to circumstances; a less number if the tension on the net be great, and a larger number when the nets are slack.[9]

Lastly, for the purpose of carrying the nets and hayes, for either sort[10] there must be a bag of calf-skin; and billhooks to cut down branches and stop gaps in the woods when necessary.[11]

III.—There are two breeds of sporting dogs: the Castorian and the fox-like.[12] The former get their name from Castor,

[1] Lit. "2, 4, 5 fathoms; 10, 20, 30 fathoms."

[2] ἀκρωλενίοις, elbows, Pollux, v. 29; *al.* ἀκρολινίοις, L. & S., "on the edges or borders."

[3] μαστούς, *al.* "tufts."

[4] σχαλίδες, forks or net props. Cf. Pollux, v. 19, 31.

[5] *i.e.* 30+inches=2½+ft., say 36 inches=3 ft.

[6] εὐπερίσπαστοι τὰ ἄκρα, *al.* "they should be made so that the nets can be fitted on and off easily, with sharp points"; or "off the points easily."

[7] διπλάσιαι, *i.e.* 20 palms=60+inches, say 72, or 6 ft.

[8] πεντεσπίθαμοι, *i.e.* 5×7½ inches=37½ inches=3 ft. 1½ inch; *al.* 5×9 inches=45 inches=3 ft. 9 inches.

[9] Or, "if in the particular position the nets are taut, a larger if they lie slack."

[10] Reading, with Lenz, ἑκατέροις, or if, as C. Gesner conj., ἢ ἑκάτερα, transl. "or either separately."

[11] Or, "for the purpose of felling wood and stopping up gaps where necessary."

[12] Καστόριαι, or Laconian, approaching possibly the harrier type; ἀλωπεκίδες, *i.e.* vulpocanine, hybrid between fox and dog.

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in memory of the delight he took in the business of the chase, for which he kept this breed by preference.[1] The other breed is literally foxy, being the progeny originally of the dog and the fox, whose natures have in the course of ages become blent.[2]

Both species present a large proportion of defective animals[3] which fall short of the type, as being under-sized, or crook-nosed,[4] or gray-eyed,[5] or near-sighted, or ungainly, or stiff-jointed, or deficient in strength, thin-haired, lanky, disproportioned, devoid of pluck or of nose, or unsound of foot. To particularise: an under-sized dog will, ten to one, break off from the chase[6] faint and flagging in the performance of his duty owing to mere diminutiveness. An aquiline nose means no mouth, and consequently an inability to hold the hare fast.[7] A blinking bluish eye implies defect of vision;[8] just as want of shape means ugliness.[9] The stiff-limbed dog will come home limping from the hunting-field;[10] just as want of strength and thinness of coat go hand in hand with incapacity for toil.[11] The lanky-legged, unsymmetrical dog, with his shambling gait and ill-compacted frame, ranges heavily; while the spiritless animal will leave his work to skulk off out of the sun into shade and lie down. Want of nose means scenting the hare with difficulty, or only once in a way; and however courageous he may be, a hound with unsound

[1] Or, "get their appellation from the fact that Castor took delight in the business of the chase, and kept this breed specially for the purpose." *Al.* διεφύλαξεν, "propagated and preserved the breed which we now have." See Darwin, *Animals and Plants under Domestication*, ii. 202, 209.

[2] Or, "and through lapse of time the twofold characteristics of their progenitors have become blent." See Timoth. Gaz. ap. Schneid. *ad loc.* for an ancient superstition as to breeds.

[3] Or, "defective specimens (that is to say, the majority) are to be noted, as follows."

[4] γρυπαί. See below, iv. 1.

[5] χαροπόι. *Al.* Arrian, iv. 4, 5.

[6] Or, "will probably retire from the chase and throw up the business through mere diminutiveness."

[7] Or, "a hook-nosed (? pig-jawed, see Stonehenge, *The Dog*, p. 19, 4th ed.) dog has a bad mouth and cannot hold."

[8] Or, "a short-sighted, wall-eyed dog has defective vision."

[9] Or, "they are weedy, ugly brutes as a rule."

[10] Or, "stiffness of limb means he will come off." Cf. *Mem.* III. xiii. 6.

[11] Lit. "a weak, thinly-haired animal is incapable of severe toil."

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feet cannot stand the work, but through foot-soreness will eventually give in.[1]

Similarly many different modes of hunting a line of scent are to be seen in the same species of hound.[2] One dog as soon as he has found the trail will go along without sign or symptom to show that he is on the scent; another will vibrate his ears only and keep his tail[3] perfectly still; while a third has just the opposite propensity: he will keep his ears still and wag with the tip of his tail. Others draw their ears together, and assuming a solemn air,[4] drop their tails, tuck them between their legs, and scour along the line. Many do nothing of the sort.[5] They tear madly about, babbling round the line when they light upon it, and senselessly trampling out the scent. Others again will make wide circuits and excursions; either forecasting the line,[6] they overshoot it and leave the hare itself behind, or every time they run against the line they fall to conjecture, and when they catch sight of the quarry are all in a tremor,[7] and will not advance a step till they see the creature begin to stir.

A particular sort may be described as hounds which, when hunting or pursuing, run forward with a frequent eye to the discoveries of the rest of the pack, because they have no confidence in themselves. Another sort is over-confident—not letting the cleverer members of the pack go on ahead, but keeping them back with nonsensical clamour. Others will wilfully hug every false scent,[8] and with a tremendous display of eagerness, whatever they chance upon, will take the lead, con-

[1] Or, "Nor will courage compensate for unsound feet. The toil and moil will be too great to endure, and owing to the pains in his feet he will in the end give in."

[2] Or, "Also the same dogs will exhibit many styles of coursing: one set as soon as they have got the trail pursue it without a sign, so there is no means of finding out that the animal is on the track."

[3] "Stern."

[4] Or, "with their noses solemnly fixed on the ground and sterns lowered."

[5] Or, "have quite a different action"; "exhibit quite another manner."

[6] *i.e.* "they cast forward to make short cuts," of skirters too lazy to run the line honestly.

[7] Reading τρέμουσι, "fall a-trembling"; *al.* ἀτρέμουσι, "stand stock-still"; *i.e.* are "dwellers."

[8] *Al.* "seem to take pleasure in fondling every lie."

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scious all the while they are playing false;[1] whilst another sort again will behave in precisely similar style out of sheer ignorance.[2] It is a poor sort of hound which will not leave a stale line[3] for want of recognising the true trail. So, too, a hound that cannot distinguish the trail leading to a hare's form, and scampers over that of a running hare, hot haste, is no thoroughbred.[4]

When it comes to the actual chase, some hounds will show great ardour at first starting, but presently give up from weakness of spirit. Others will run in too hastily[5] and then balk; while others again will tumble idiotically into the high road and go hopelessly astray, as if they had lost the sense of hearing altogether.

Many a hound will give up the chase and return from mere distaste for hunting,[6] and not a few from pure affection for mankind. Others with their clamorous yelping on the line do their best to deceive, as if true and false were all one to them.[7] There are others that will not do that, but which in the middle of their running,[8] should they catch the echo of a sound from some other quarter, will leave their own business and incontinently tear off towards it.[9] The fact is,[10] they

[1] Or, "fully aware themselves that the whole thing is a make-believe."

[2] Or, "do exactly the same because they do not know any better."

[3] *ἐκ τῶν τριμμῶν.* Lit. "keep away from beaten paths," and commonly of footpaths (see below, v. 18, vi. 9), but here, as in iv. 3 below, apparently of the hare's habitual "run," not necessarily lately traversed, still less the true line. Cf. below, v. 6; vi. 14; viii. 3. Cf. "*musets.*"

[4] Lit. "A dog who on the one hand ignores the form track, and on the other tears swiftly over a running track, is not a well-bred dog." *Al.* *τὰ εὐναῖα*, "traces of the form"; *τὰ δρομαῖα*, "tracks of a running hare." See Sturz, *s.v.* *δρομαῖος.* Below, v. 7.

[5] So L. & S., *ὑποθέουσιν* = "cut in before" the rest of the pack and overrun the scent. *Al.* "flash in for a time, and then lose the scent."

[6] Or, *μισόθηρον*, "out of antipathy to the quarry." For *φιλάνθρωπον* cf. Pollux, *ib.* 64; Hermog. ap. L. Dind.

[7] Or, "unable apparently to distinguish false from true." See Sturz, *s.v.* *ποιεῖσθαι.* Cf. Plut. *de Exil.* 6. *Al.* "Gaily substituting false for true."

[8] "In the heat of the chase."

[9] "Rush to attack it."

[10] The fact is, there are as many different modes of following up the chase almost as there are dogs. Some follow up the chase *ἀσαφῶς*, indistinctly; some *πολὺ ὑπολαμβάνουσαι*, with a good deal of guess-work; others again *δοξάζουσαι*, without conviction, insincerely; others, *πεπλασμένως*, out of mere pretence, pure humbug, make-believe, or *φθονερῶς*, in a fit of jealousy, *ἐκκυνοῦσι*, are skirters; *al.* *ἐκκινοῦσι*, Sturz, quit the scent.

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run on without clear motive, some of them; others taking too much for granted; and a third set to suit their whims and fancies. Others simply play at hunting; or from pure jealousy, keep questing about beside the line, continually rushing along and tumbling over one another.[1]

The majority of these defects are due to natural disposition, though some must be assigned no doubt to want of scientific training. In either case such hounds are useless, and may well deter the keenest sportsman from the hunting field.[2]

The characteristics, bodily and other, exhibited by the finer specimens of the same breed,[3] I will now set forth.

IV.—In the first place, this true type of hound should be of large build; and, in the next place, furnished with a light small head, broad and flat in the snout,[4] well knit and sinewy, the lower part of the forehead puckered into strong wrinkles; eyes set well up[5] in the head, black and bright; forehead large and broad; the depression between the eyes pronounced;[6] ears long[7] and thin, without hair on the under side; neck long and flexible, freely moving on its pivot;[8] chest broad and fairly fleshy; shoulder-blades detached a little from the shoulders;[9] the shin-bones of the fore-legs should be small, straight, round, stout, and strong; the elbows straight; ribs[10] not deep all along, but sloped away obliquely;

[1] *Al.* "unceasingly tearing along, around, and about it."

[2] Or, "Naturally dogs like these damp the sportsman's ardour, and indeed are enough to sicken him altogether with the chase."

[3] Or, "The features, points, qualities, whether physical or other, which characterise the better individuals." But what does Xenophon mean by *τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους*?

[4] Pollux, v. 7; Arrian, *Cyn.* iv.

[5] *μετέωρα*, prominent. ? See Sturz, *s.v.*

[6] *τὰς διακρίσεις βαθείας*, lit. "with a deep frontal sinus."

[7] Reading *μακρά*, or if *μικρά*, "small."

[8] *Al.* "well rounded."

[9] "Shoulder-blades standing out a little from the shoulders"; *i.e.* "free."

[10] *i.e.* "not wholly given up to depth, but well curved"; depth is not everything unless the ribs be also curved. Schneid. cf. Ov. *Met.* iii. 216, "et *substricta* gerens Sicyonius *ilia* Ladon," where the poet is perhaps describing a *greyhound*, "chyned like a bream." See Stonehenge, pp. 21, 22. Xenophon's "Castorians" were more like the *Welsh harrier* in build, I presume.

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the loins muscular, in size a mean between long and short, neither too flexible nor too stiff;[1] flanks, a mean between large and small; the hips (or "couples") rounded, fleshy behind, not tied together above, but firmly knitted on the inside;[2] the lower or under part of the belly[3] slack, and the belly itself the same, that is, hollow and sunken; tail long, straight, and pointed;[4] thighs (*i.e.* hams) stout and compact; shanks (*i.e.* lower thighs) long, round, and solid; hind-legs much longer than the fore-legs, and relatively lean; feet round and cat-like.[5]

Hounds possessed of these points will be strong in build, and at the same time light and active; they will have symmetry at once and pace; a bright, beaming expression; and good mouths.

In following up scent,[6] see how they show their mettle by rapidly quitting beaten paths, keeping their heads sloping to the ground, smiling, as it were, to greet the trail; see how they let their ears drop, how they keep moving their eyes to and fro quickly, flourishing their sterns.[7] Forwards they should go with many a circle towards the hare's form,[8] steadily guided by the line, all together. When they are close to the hare itself, they will make the fact plain to the huntsman by the quickened pace at which they run, as if they would let him know by their fury, by the motion of head and eyes, by rapid changes of gait and gesture,[9] now casting a glance back and now fixing their gaze steadily forward to the creature's

[1] Or, "neither soft and spongy nor unyielding." See Stonehenge, p. 23.
[2] "Drawn up underneath," lit. "tucked up."
[3] *Al.* "flank," "flanks themselves."
[4] Or, as we should say, "stern." See Pollux, v. 59; Arrian, v. 9.
[5] See Stonehenge, p. 24 foll.
[6] Lit. "Let them follow up the trail"; and for "beaten paths," see above, iii. 7, note 3.
[7] Lit. "fawning and wagging their tails."
[8] Lit. "bed" or "lair."
[9] Or, "by rapid shiftings of attitude, by looks now thrown backward and now forwards to the . . ." Reading *καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναβλεμμάτων καὶ ἐμβλεμμάτων τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς καθέδρας τοῦ* λ., or if with L. D., *καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀ. καὶ ἐμβλεμμάτων εἰς τὴν ὕλην καὶ ἀναστρεμμάτων τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς κ.*, transl. "now looking back at the huntsman and now staring hard into the covert, and again right-about-face in the direction of the hare's sitting-place."

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hiding-place,[1] by twistings and turnings of the body, flinging themselves backwards, forwards, and sideways, and lastly, by the genuine exaltation of spirits, visible enough now, and the ecstasy of their pleasure, that they are close upon the quarry.

Once she is off, the pack should pursue with vigour.[2] They must not relax their hold, but with yelp and bark full cry insist on keeping close and dogging puss at every turn. Twist for twist and turn for turn, they, too, must follow in a succession of swift and brilliant bursts, interrupted by frequent doublings; while ever and again they give tongue and yet again till the very welkin rings.[3] One thing they must not do, and that is, leave the scent and return crestfallen to the huntsman.[4]

Along with this build and method of working, hounds should possess four points. They should have pluck, sound feet, keen noses, and sleek coats. The spirited, plucky hound will prove his mettle by refusing to leave the chase, however stifling the weather; a good nose is shown by his capacity for scenting the hare on barren and dry ground exposed to the sun, and that when the orb is at the zenith;[5] soundness of foot in the fact that the dog may course over mountains during the same season, and yet his feet will not be torn to pieces; and a good coat means the possession of light, thick, soft, and silky hair.[6]

As to the colour proper for a hound,[7] it should not be simply tawny, nor absolutely black or white, which is not a sign of breeding, but monotonous—a simplicity suggestive of the wild animal.[8] Accordingly the red dog should show a

[1] Lit. "form"; "the place where puss is seated."

[2] Lit. "let them follow up the chase vigorously, and not relax, with yelp and bark."

[3] *δικαίως*, Sturz, "non temere"; "and not without good reason." *Al.* "a right good honest salvo of barks, and . . ."

[4] Lit. "Let them not hark back to join the huntsman, and desert the trail."

[5] *i.e.* "at mid-day"; or, "in the height of summer"; *al.* "during the dog-days"; "at the rising of the dog-star."

[6] See Pollux, *ib.* 59; Arrian, vi. 1.

[7] See Stonehenge, p. 25; Darwin, *op. cit.* ii. 109.

[8] But see Pollux, *ib.* 65, who apparently read *γενναῖον τοῦτο τὸ ἁπλοῦν ἀλλὰ θηριώδες*; *al.* Arrian, vi. See Jacques du Fouilloux, *La Vénerie* (ap. E. Talbot, *Œuvres complètes de Xénophon*, traduction, ii. 318).

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bloom of white hair about the muzzle, and so should the black, the white commonly showing red. On the top of the thigh the hair should be straight and thick, as also on the loins and on the lower portion of the stern, but of a moderate thickness only on the upper parts.

There is a good deal to be said for taking your hounds frequently into the mountains; not so much for taking them on to cultivated land.[1] And for this reason: the fells offer facilities for hunting and for following the quarry without interruption, while cultivated land, owing to the number of cross roads and beaten paths, presents opportunity for neither. Moreover, quite apart from finding a hare, it is an excellent thing to take your dogs on to rough ground. It is there they will become sound of foot, and in general the benefit to their physique in working over such ground will amply repay you.[2]

They should be taken out in summer till mid-day; in winter from sunrise to sundown; in autumn any time except mid-day; and in spring any time before evening. These times will hit the mean of temperature.[3]

v.—The tracks of hares are long in winter owing to the length of night, and short for the opposite reason during summer. In winter, however, their scent does not lie in early morning, when the rime is on the ground, or earth is frozen.[4] The fact is, hoar frost by its own inherent force absorbs its heat, whilst black frost freezes it.[5]

The hounds, moreover, with their noses nipped by the cold,[6] cannot under these conditions[7] use their sense of smell, until the sun or the mere advance of day dissolves the scent. Then

[1] Or, "pretty often, and less frequently over."

[2] Lit. "they must be benefited in their bodies generally by working over such ground."

[3] Or, "You may count on a moderate temperature at these times."

[4] Or, "when there is hoar frost or black frost" (lit. "ice").

[5] Or, "the ice congeals them," "encases as it were in itself the heat," *i.e.* the warm scent; *aliter*, "causes the tracks to freeze at the top."

[6] Reading μαλακιῶσαι, Cobet, *N. Lect.* 131. *Mnem.* 3, 306; Rutherford, *N. Phry.* p. 135. = "nipped, or numb with cold." For vulg. μαλακιῶσαι = "whose noses are tender," see Lenz *ad loc.*

[7] Lit. "when the tracks are in this case."

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the noses of the hounds recover, and the scent of the trail begins to exhale itself perceptibly.[1]

Heavy dews also will obliterate scent by its depressing effect;[2] and rains occurring after long intervals, while bringing out odours from the earth,[3] will render the soil bad for scent until it dries again. Southerly winds will not improve scent — being moisture-laden they disperse it; whereas northerly winds, provided the scent has not been previously destroyed, tend to fix and preserve it. Rains will drown and wash it away, and so will drizzle; while the moon by her heat[4]—especially a full moon—will dull its edge; in fact the trail is rarest—most irregular[5]—at such times, for the hares in their joy at the light with frolic and gambol[6] literally throw themselves high into the air and set long intervals between one footfall and another. Or again, the trail will become confused and misleading when crossed by that of foxes.[7]

Spring with its tempered mildness is the season to render the scent clear, except where possibly the soil, bursting with flowers, may mislead the pack, by mingling the perfume of flowers with the true scent.[8] In summer scent is thin and indistinct; the earth being baked through and through absorbs the thinner warmth inherent in the trail, while the dogs themselves are less keen scented at that season through the general relaxation of their bodies.[9] In autumn scent lies clean, all the products of the soil by that time, if cultivable, being already garnered, or, if wild, withered away with age, so that the odours of various fruits are no longer a disturbing cause through blowing on to the line.[10] In winter, summer, and

[1] As it evaporates. *Aliter*, "is perceptible to smell as it is wafted by the breeze to greet them." [2] Cf. Plut. *Q. Nat.* 917 F, ap. Schneid.

[3] Cf. Theophr. *C. Pl.* xix. 5, 6; xx. 4.

[4] Reading τῷ θερμῷ. Aristot. *Gen. An.* iv. 10. Zeune cf. Plut. *Symp.* iii. 10, 657. Macrob. *Sat.* vii. 16; Athen. 276 E. *Al.* τὸ θερμόν, as below, § 5. See Lenz *ad loc.* "the moon, especially a full moon, dulls the heat (or odour) of the tracks." [5] Cf. Poll. v. 67; *ib.* 66.

[6] "Playing with one another, in the rivalry of sport."

[7] Lit. "when foxes have gone through before."

[8] *i.e.* "with the scent into a composite and confusing whole."

[9] Or, "owing to the relaxed condition of their frames."

[10] Lit. "The fruity odours do not, as commingling currents, injure the rail."

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autumn, moreover, as opposed to spring, the trail of a hare lies for the most part in straight lines, but in the earlier season it is highly complicated, for the little creatures are perpetually coupling and particularly at this season, so that of necessity as they roam together for the purpose they make the line intricate as described.

The scent of the line leading to the hare's form lies longer than that of a hare on the run, and for this reason: in proceeding to her form the hare keeps stopping,[1] the other is in rapid motion; consequently, the ground in the one case is thickly saturated all along with scent, in the other sparsely and superficially. So, too, scent lies better in woody than on barren ground, since, whilst running to and fro or sitting up, the creature comes in contact with a variety of objects. Everything that earth produces or bears upon her bosom will serve as puss's resting-place. These are her screen, her couch, her canopy;[2] apart, it may be, or close at hand, or at some middle point, among them she lies ensconced. At times, with an effort taxing all her strength, she will spring across to where some jutting point or clinging undergrowth on sea or freshet may attract her.

The couching hare[3] constructs her form for the most part in sheltered spots during cold weather and in shady thickets during the hot season, but in spring and autumn on ground exposed to the sun. Not so the running[4] animal, for the simple reason that she is scared out of her wits by the hounds.[5]

In reclining the hare draws up the thighs under the flanks,[7] putting its fore-legs together, as a rule, and stretching them out, resting its chin on the tips of its feet. It spreads

[1] "The form tracks are made by the hare leisurely proceeding and stopping at times; those on the run quickly."

[2] Lit. "Anything and everything will serve to couch under, or above, within, beside, now at some distance off, and now hard by, and now midway between."

[3] "The form-frequenting hare."

[4] "Her roving congener," *i.e.* the hunted hare that squats. The distinction drawn is between the form chosen by the hare for her own comfort, and her squatting-place to escape the hounds when hunted.

[5] *i.e.* "the dogs have turned her head and made her as mad as a March hare."

[7] Pollux, v. 72.

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its ears out over the shoulder-blades, and so shelters the tender parts of its body; its hair serves as a protection,[1] being thick and of a downy texture. When awake it keeps on blinking its eyelids,[2] but when asleep the eyelids remain wide open and motionless, and the eyes rigidly fixed; during sleep it moves its nostrils frequently, if awake less often.

When the earth is bursting with new verdure,[3] fields and farm-lands rather than mountains are their habitat.[4] When tracked by the huntsman their habit is everywhere to await approach, except only in case of some excessive scare during the night, in which case they will be on the move.

The fecundity of the hare is extraordinary. The female, having produced one litter, is on the point of producing a second when she is already impregnated for a third.[5]

The scent of the leveret lies stronger[6] than that of the grown animal. While the limbs are still soft and supple they trail full length on the ground. Every true sportsman, however, will leave these quite young creatures to roam freely.[7] "They are for the goddess." Full-grown yearlings will run their first chase very swiftly,[8] but they cannot keep up the pace; in spite of agility they lack strength.

To find the trail you must work the dogs downwards through the cultivated lands, beginning at the top. Any hares that do not come into the tilled districts must be sought in the meadows and the glades; near rivulets, among the stones, or in woody ground. If the quarry makes off,[9] there should be no shouting, that the hounds may not grow too eager and fail to discover the line. When found by the hounds, and the chase has begun, the hare will at times cross streams, bend and double and creep for shelter into clefts and crannied

[1] Or, "as a waterproof." [2] So Pollux, *ib.*

[3] "When the ground teems with vegetation."

[4] Or, "they frequent cultivated lands," etc.

[5] *Re* hyper-foetation cf. Pollux, v. 73, ap. Schneid.; Herod. iii. 108; Aristot. *H. A.* iv. 5; Eratosthenes, *Catasterism*, 34; Aelian, *V. H.* ii. 12; Plin. *N. H.* viii. 55.

[6] Cf. Pollux, v. 74.

[7] ἀφιᾶσι, cf. Arrian, xxii. 1, "let them go free"; Aesch. *P. V.* 666; Plat. *Prot.* 320 A.

[8] Or, "will make the running over the first ring."

[9] Or, "shifts her ground."

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lurking-places;[1] since they have not only the hounds to dread, but eagles also; and, so long as they are yearlings, are apt to be carried off in the clutches of these birds, in the act of crossing some slope or bare hillside. When they are bigger they have the hounds after them to hunt them down and make away with them. The fleetest-footed would appear to be those of the hills, those of the flats are less so, and the slowest those of the low marsh lands. The vagabond kind[2] addicted to every sort of ground are difficult to hunt, for they know the short cuts, running chiefly up steeps or across flats, over inequalities unequally, and downhill scarcely at all.

Whilst being hunted they are most visible in crossing ground that has been turned up by the plough, if, that is, they have any trace of red about them, or through stubble, owing to reflection. So, too, they are visible enough on beaten paths or roads, presuming these are fairly level, since the bright hue of their coats lights up by contrast. On the other hand, they are not noticeable when they seek the cover of rocks, hills, screes, or scrub, owing to similarity of colour. Getting a fair start of the hounds, they will stop short, sit up and raise themselves up on their haunches,[3] and listen for any bark or other clamour of the hounds hard by; and when the sound reaches them, off and away they go. At times, too, without hearing, merely fancying or persuading themselves that they hear the hounds, they will fall to skipping backwards and forwards along or across the same trail,[4] interchanging leaps, and interlacing lines of scent,[5] and so make off and away.

These animals will give the longest run when found upon the open, there being nothing there to screen the view; the shortest run when started out of thickets, where the very darkness is an obstacle.

[1] Or, "in their terror not of dogs only, but of eagles, since up to a year old they are liable to be seized by these birds of prey while crossing some bottom or bare ground, while if bigger . . ."

[2] *οἱ . . . πλανῆται*, see Ael. *op. cit.* xiii. 14.

[3] Cf. the German "Männerchen machen," "play the mannikin." Shaks. *V. and A.* 697 foll.

[4] Passage imitated by Arrian, xvi. 1. Cf. vi. 5 below.

[5] Lit. "imprinting track upon track," but it is better perhaps to avoid the language of woodcraft at this point.

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There are two distinct kinds of hare — the big kind, which is somewhat dark in colour[1] with a large white patch on the forehead; and the smaller kind, which is yellow-brown with only a little white. The tail of the former kind is variegated in a circle; of the other, white at the side.[2] The eyes of the large kind are slightly inclined to gray;[3] of the smaller, bluish. The black about the tips of the ears is largely spread in the one, but slightly in the other species. Of these two species, the smaller is to be met with in most of the islands, desert and inhabited alike. As regards numbers they are more abundant in the islands than on the mainland; the fact being that in most of these there are no foxes to attack and carry off either the grown animal or its young; nor yet eagles, whose habitat is on lofty mountains rather than the lower type of hills which characterise the islands.[4] Again, sportsmen seldom visit the desert islands, and as to those which are inhabited, the population is but thinly scattered and the folk themselves not addicted to the chase; while in the case of the sacred islands,[5] the importation of dogs is not allowed. If, then, we consider what a small proportion of hares existent at the moment will be hunted down and again the steady increase of the stock through reproduction, the enormous numbers will not be surprising.[6]

The hare has not a keen sight for many reasons. To begin with, its eyes are set too prominently on the skull, and the eyelids are clipped and blear,[7] and afford no protection to the pupils.[8] Naturally the sight is indistinct and

[1] *ἐπίπερκνοι*. Cf. Pollux, v. 67 foll., "mottled with black." Blane.

[2] Reading *παράσειρον*, perhaps "mottled"; vulg. *παράσηρον*. *Al. παράσυρον*, "écourtée," Gail.

[3] *ὑποχάροποι*, "subfulvi," Sturz, *i.e.* "inclined to tawny"; *al.* "fairly lustrous." Cf. *δμματά μοι γλαυκᾶς χαροπώτερα πολλὸν Ἀθάνας*, Theocr. xx. 25; but see Aristot. *H. A.* i. 10; *Gen. An.* v. 1, 20.

[4] Lit. "and those on the islands are for the most part of low altitude."

[5] *e.g.* Delos. See Strab. x. 456; Plut. *Mor.* 290 B; and so Lagia, Plin. iv. 12.

[6] Lit. "As the inhabitants hunt down but a few of them, these constantly being added to by reproduction, there must needs be a large number of them."

[7] Or, "defective."

[8] *Al.* "against the sun's rays."

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purblind.[1] Along with which, although asleep, for the most part it does not enjoy visual repose.[2] Again, its very fleetness of foot contributes largely towards dim-sightedness. It can only take a rapid glance at things in passing, and then off before perceiving what the particular object is.[3]

The alarm, too, of those hounds for ever at its heels pursuing combines with everything[4] to rob the creature of all prescience; so that for this reason alone it will run its head into a hundred dangers unawares, and fall into the toils. If it held on its course uphill,[5] it would seldom meet with such a fate; but now, through its propensity to circle round and its attachment to the place where it was born and bred, it courts destruction. Owing to its speed it is not often overtaken by the hounds by fair hunting.[6] When caught, it is the victim of a misfortune alien to its physical nature.

The fact is, there is no other animal of equal size which is at all its match in speed. Witness the conformation of its body: the light, small drooping head [narrow in front];[7] the [thin cylindrical][8] neck, not stiff and of a moderate length; straight shoulder-blades, loosely slung above; the fore-legs attached to them, light and set close together;[9] the undistended chest;[10] the light symmetrical sides; the supple, well-rounded loins; the fleshy buttocks; the somewhat sunken flanks;[11] the hips, well rounded, plump at every part, but with a proper interval above; the long and solid thighs, on the outside tense and not too flabby on the inside; the

[1] Or, "dull and mal-concentrated." See Pollux, v. 69.

[2] *i.e.* "its eyes are not rested, because it sleeps with them open."

[3] *i.e.* "it goes so quick, that before it can notice what the particular object is, it must avert its gaze to the next, and then the next, and so on."

[4] *μετὰ τούτων, sc.* "with these other causes"; *al.* "with the dogs"; *i.e.* "like a second nightmare pack."

[5] Reading *ὄρθιον*, or if *ὀρθόν*, transl. "straight on."

[6] *κατὰ πόδας, i.e.* "by running down"; cf. *Mem.* II. vi. 9; *Cyrop.* I. vi. 40, *re* two kinds of hound: the one for scent, the other for speed.

[7] Reading *κατωφερῆ* [*στενὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἔμπροσθεν*]. See Lenz *ad loc.* pp. 23, 24. Pollux, v. 69.

[8] Reading [*λεπτόν, περιφερῆ*].

[9] *σύγκωλα, al.* "compactly knit."

[10] Lit. *οὐ βαρύτονον*, "not deep sounding" = *οὐ σαρκώδες*, Pollux, *ib.*

[11] Reading *λαγόνας ὑγρὰς λαγαρὰς ἱκανῶς.*

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long, stout lower legs or shanks; the fore-feet, exceedingly pliant, thin, and straight; the hind-feet firm and broad; front and hind alike totally regardless of rough ground; the hind-legs far longer than the fore, inclined outwards somewhat; the fur[1] short and light.

I say an animal so happily constructed must needs be strong and pliant; the perfection of lightness and agility. If proof of this lightness and agility be needed, here is a fact in illustration. When proceeding quietly, its method of progression is by leaps: no one ever saw or is likely to see a hare walking. What it does is to place the hind-feet in front of the fore-feet and outside them, and so to run, if running one can call it. The action prints itself off plainly on snow. The tail is not conducive to swiftness of pace, being ill adapted by its stumpiness to act as a rudder to direct the body. The animal has to do this by means of one or other ear;[2] as may be seen, when she is on the point of being caught by the hounds.[3] At that instant you may see her drop and shoot out aslant one of her ears towards the point of attack, and then, apparently throwing her full weight on that pivot, turn sharp round and in a moment leave her assailants far behind.

So winsome a creature is it, that to note the whole of the proceedings from the start — the quest by scent, the find, the pack in pursuit full cry, the final capture—a man might well forget all other loves.[4]

Here it should be added that the sportsman, who finds himself on cultivated lands, should rigidly keep his hands off the fruits of the season, and leave springs and streams alone. To meddle with them is ugly and base, not to speak of the bad example of lawlessness set to the beholder. During the close season[5] all hunting gear should be taken down and put away.

[1] τρίχωμα, "the coat."
[2] So Ael. *N. A.* xiii. 14.
[3] Pollux, v. 71. For punctuation, see Lenz *ad loc.* p. 25.
[4] See Arrian, xvi. 6, his criticism. Schneid. cf. Plut. *Mor.* 1096 c. Hermog. iii. 319. 11, ed. Walz.
[5] *Al.* "während der Jagdferien," Lenz; "on Sundays," as we might say. See some remarks on § 34 in *Hellenica Essays*, "Xenophon," p. 349.

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VI.—The equipment of the dogs consists of collar straps, leashes, and surcingles,[1] and the collar should be broad and soft so as not to rub the dog's coat; the leash should have a noose for the hand,[2] and nothing else. The plan of making collar and leash all in one is a clumsy contrivance for keeping a hound in check.[3] The surcingle should be broad in the thongs so as not to gall the hound's flanks, and with spurs stitched on to the leather, to preserve the purity of the breed.[4]

As to taking the hounds out to hunt, no hound ought to be taken out which refuses its food, a conclusive proof that the animal is ailing. Nor again, when a violent wind is blowing, for three good reasons: the scent will not lie, the hounds cannot smell,[5] neither the nets nor hayes will stand. In the absence, however, of any of these hindrances, take them out every other day.[6] Do not let your hounds get into the habit of hunting foxes. Nothing is so ruinous; and just at the moment when you want them, they will not be forthcoming. On the other hand, vary the hunting-ground in taking them out; which will give the pack a wider experience in hunting and their master a better knowledge of the country. The start should be early in the morning, unless the scent is to fail the hounds entirely.[7] The dilatory sportsman robs the pack of finding and himself of profit.[8] Subtle and delicate by nature, scent will not last all day.

The net-keeper should wear a light costume. His business is to fix the nets about the runs,[9] paths, bends, and hollows, and darksome spots, brooks, dry torrents, or perennial mountain streams. These are the places to which

[1] *στελμονίαι*, *al.* *τελαμωνίαι*, broad belts or girths, corselets. Pollux, v. 55.

[2] Pollux, v. 56.

[3] Lit. "since those who make the collar out of the leash do not keep hold (*al.* take care) of their hounds well."

[4] See "A Day with Xenophon's Harriers," *Macmillan's Mag.* Jan. 1895, p. 183.

[5] "You cannot trust the hound's nose."

[6] "Every third day," *διὰ τριτῆς τῆς ἡμέρας.*

[7] Lit. "in order that they may not be deprived of following up the scent."

[8] Or, "a late start means the hounds will be robbed of a find and the huntsman of his reward."

[9] See Pollux, v. 35.

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the hare chiefly betakes itself for refuge; though there are of course endless others. These, and the side passages into, and exits from them, whether well marked or ill defined, are to be stopped just as day breaks; not too early, so that, in case the line of nets be in the neighbourhood of covert to be searched for game,[1] the animal may not be scared at hearing the thud close by.[2] If, on the contrary, there should be a wide gap between the two points, there is less to hinder making the net lines clear and clean quite early, so that nothing may cling to them. The keeper must fix the forked props slantwise, so as to stand the strain when subjected to tension. He must attach the nooses equally on the points; and see that the props are regularly fixed, raising the pouch towards the middle;[3] and into the slip-rope he must insert a large, long stone, to prevent the net from stretching in the opposite direction, when it has got the hare inside. He will fix the rows of poles with stretches of net sufficiently high to prevent the creature leaping over.[4] In hunting, "no procrastination" should be the motto, since it is sportsmanlike at once and a proof of energy by all means to effect a capture quickly. He will stretch the larger (haye) nets upon level spaces; and proceed to plant the road nets upon roads and at converging points of tracks and footpaths;[5] he must attach the border-ropes to the ground, draw together the elbows or side ends of the nets, fix the forked props between the upper meshes,[6] adjust the skirting-ropes upon the tops, and close up gaps.

Then he will play sentinel and go his rounds; if a prop or funnel wants supporting, he will set it up; and when the hare comes with the hounds behind her he will urge her

[1] *Al.* "of the game to be hunted up."

[2] ὁμοῦ, "e propinquo." Schn. cf. *Cyrop.* III. i. 2; VI. iii. 7.

[3] Or, "giving the funnel or belly a lift in the middle." κεκρύφαλον, Pollux, v. 31. See below, x. 7.

[4] This sentence according to Lenz is out of its place, referring solely to the haye nets; the order of the words should be τὰ δὲ δίκτυα τεινέτω ἐν ἀπέδοις. στοιχιζέτω δέ, κ.τ.λ. If so, transl. "He should stretch the hayes on level ground and fix, etc.; The road nets should be planted . . . etc."

[5] *Al.* "at convenient points or where paths converge." See Schneid. *s.v.* συμφέροντα.

[6] σαρδονίων, Pollux, v. 31. *Al.* "fixing the stakes between the edges."

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forwards to the toils, with shout and halloa thundering at her heels. When she is fairly entangled, he is to calm the fury of the hounds, without touching them, by soothing, encouraging tones. He is also to signal to the huntsman with a shout, that the quarry is taken, or has escaped this side or that, or that he has not seen it, or where he last caught sight of it.[1]

The sportsman himself should sally forth in a loose, light hunting dress,[2] and footgear[3] to match; he should carry a stout stick in his hand, the net-keeper following. They should proceed to the hunting-field in silence, to prevent the hare, if by chance there should be one close by, from making off at the sound of voices. When they have reached the covert, he will tie the hounds to trees, each separately, so that they can be easily slipped from the leash, and proceed to fix the nets, funnel and hayes, as above described. When that is done, and while the net-keeper mounts guard, the master himself will take the hounds and sally forth to rouse the game.[4] Then with prayer and promise to Apollo and to Artemis, our Lady of the Chase,[5] to share with them the produce of spoil, he lets slip a single hound, the cunningest at scenting of the pack. [If it be winter, the hour will be sunrise, or if summer, before day-dawn, and in the other seasons at some hour midway.] As soon as the hound has unravelled the true line[6] he will let slip another; and then, if these carry on the line, at rapid intervals he will slip the others one by one; and himself follow, without too great hurry,[7] addressing each of the dogs by name every now and then, but not too frequently, for fear of over-exciting them before the proper moment.

Meanwhile the hounds are busily at work; onwards they press with eager spirit, disentangling the line, double or treble,

[1] Or, "'*caught*,' '*escaped*' (this side or that), '*not seen*,' '*marked*.'"
[2] ἠμελημένην = *négligé*, plain, unpretentious.
[3] Pollux, v. 18.
[4] See above, v. 15; below, x. 4; *al.* "intent on the working of the pack."
[5] "To thee thy share of this chase, Lord Apollo; and thine to thee, O Huntress Queen!"
[6] Or, "carries a line straight away from the many that interlace."
[7] Or, "without forcing the pace."

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as the case may be.[1] To and fro they weave a curious web,[2] now across, now parallel with the line,[3] whose threads are interlaced, here overlapped, and here revolving in a circle; now straight, now crooked; here close, there rare; at one time clear enough, at another dimly owned. Past one another the hounds jostle—tails waving fast, ears dropt, and eyes flashing.

But when they are really close to the hare they will make the matter plain to the huntsman by various signs—the quivering of their bodies backwards and forwards, sterns and all; the ardour meaning business; the rush and emulation; the hurry-scurry to be first; the patient following-up of the whole pack; at one moment massed together, and at another separated; and once again the steady onward rush. At last they have reached the hare's form, and are in the act to spring upon her. But she on a sudden will start up and bring about her ears the barking clamour of the whole pack as she makes off full speed. Then as the chase grows hot, the view halloo! of the huntsman may be heard: "So ho, good hounds! that's she! cleverly now, good hounds! so ho, good hounds!"[4] And so, wrapping his cloak[5] about his left arm, and snatching up his club, he joins the hounds in the race after the hare, taking care not to get in their way,[6] which would stop proceedings.[7] The hare, once off, is quickly out of sight of her pursuers; but, as a rule, will make a circuit back to the place where she was found.[8]

[1] "Discovering two or three scents, as the case may be"; "unravelling her line, be it single or double."

[2] *προφορεῖσθαι* = *διάζεσθαι*, Pollux, vii. 52. Schneid. cf. Aristoph. *Birds*, 4, *ἀπολούμεθ' ἄλλως τὴν ὁδὸν προφορουμένω.*

> Still up and down, old sinner, must we pace;
> 'Twill kill us both, this vain, long, wearing race (Kennedy).

[3] See above, v. 20; Arrian, xx. 2.

[4] Reading *ἰὼ κύνες, ἰὼ κύνες, σοφῶς γε ὦ κύνες, καλῶς γε ὦ κύνες. Al. ἰὼ κύνες, ἰὼ κακῶς* = "To her, dogs! that won't do!" "Ho, ho, Hunde! Ho, ho, falsch! Recht so, Hunde! schön so, Hunde!" (Lenz).

[5] *ὃ ἀμπέχεται*, "the shawl or plaid which he carries on his shoulders." See Pollux, v. 10.

[6] "Not to head the chase." Sir Alex. Grant, *Xen.* p. 167.

[7] *ἄπορον*, "which would be awkward" (see Arrian, xxv. 8).

[8] "Where the nets are set," Sir A. Grant. See his comment, *l.c.*

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He must shout then to the keeper, "Mark her, boy, mark her! hey, lad! hey, lad!" and the latter will make known whether the hare is caught or not. Supposing the hare to be caught in her first ring, the huntsman has only to call in the hounds and beat up another. If not, his business is to follow up the pack full speed, and not give in, but on through thick and through thin, for toil is sweet. And if again they chance upon her in the chevy,[1] his cheery shout will be heard once more, "Right so! right so, hounds! forward on, good hounds!"

But if the pack have got too long a start of him, and he cannot overtake them, however eagerly he follows up the hunt,—perhaps he has altogether missed the chase, or even if they are ranging close and giving tongue and sticking to the scent, he cannot see them,—still as he tears along he can interrogate the passer-by: "Hilloa there, have you seen my hounds?" he shouts, and having at length ascertained their whereabouts, if they are on the line, he will post himself close by, and cheer them on, repeating turn and turn about the name of every hound, and pitching the tone of his voice sharp or deep, soft or loud; and besides all other familiar calls, if the chase be on a hillside,[2] he can keep up their spirits with a constant "Well done, good hounds! well done, good hounds! good hounds!" Or if any are at fault, having overshot the line, he will call to them, "Back, hounds! back, will you! try back!"

As soon as the hounds have got back to (where they missed) the line,[3] he must cast them round, making many a circle to and fro; and where the line fails, he should plant a stake[4] as a sign-post to guide the eye, and so cast round the dogs from that point,[5] till they have found the right scent, with coaxing and encouragement. As soon as the line of scent is

[1] ἀπαντῶσι διώκουσαι αὐτόν, *al.* "come across the huntsman again."

[2] Or, "if the chase sweeps over a mountain-side."

[3] προσστῶσι, *al.* "whenever they check."

[4] *Al.* (1) "take a stake or one of the poles as a sign-post," (2) "draw a line on the ground."

[5] συνελρειν. Zeune cf. *Cyrop.* VII. v. 6, "draw the dogs along by the nets." Blane.

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clear,[1] off go the dogs, throwing themselves on to it, springing from side to side, swarming together, conjecturing, and giving signs to one another, and taking bearings[2] they will not mistake—helter-skelter off they go in pursuit. Once they dart off along the line of scent thus hotly, the huntsman should keep up but without hurrying, or out of zeal they will overshoot the line. As soon as they are once more in close neighbourhood of the hare, and once again have given their master clear indications of the fact, then let him give what heed he can, she does not move off farther in sheer terror of the hounds.

They meanwhile, with sterns wagging, tumbling and leaping over one another's backs,[3] at intervals loudly giving tongue, and lifting up their heads and peering into their master's face, as much as to say, "There is no mistake about it this time,"[4] will presently of themselves start the hare and be after her full cry, with bark and clamour.[5] Thereupon, whether the hare falls into the toils of the funnel net or rushes past outside or inside, whatever incident betide, the net-keeper must with a shout proclaim the fact. Should the hare be caught, the huntsman has only to begin looking for another; if not, he must follow up the chase once more with like encouragement.

When at length the hounds show symptoms of fatigue, and it is already late in the day, the time has come for the huntsman to look for his hare that lies dead-beat; nor must he wittingly leave any patch of green or clod of earth untested.[6] Backwards and forwards he must try and try again the ground,[7] to be sure that nothing has been overlooked. The fact is, the little creature lies in a small compass, and from fatigue and fear combined will not get up. As he leads

[1] "As the scent grows warmer," the translator in *Macmillan's Mag.* above referred to. Aristot. *H. A.* ix. 44. 4.

[2] Lit. "fixing landmarks for themselves."

[3] Or, "whisking their tails and frisking wildly, and jostling against one another, and leaping over one another at a great rate." *Al.* "over one obstacle and then another."

[4] Or, "this is the true line at last."

[5] *Al.* "with a crash of tongues."

[6] Lit. "anything which earth puts forth or bears upon her bosom."

[7] Or, "Many and many a cast back must he make."

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the hounds on he will cheer and encourage them, addressing with many a soft term the docile creature, the self-willed, stubborn brute more rarely, and to a moderate extent the hound of average capacity, till he either succeeds in running down or driving into the toils some victim.[1] After which he will pick up his nets, both small and large alike, give every hound a rub down, and return home from the hunting-field, taking care, if it should chance to be a summer's noon, to halt a bit, so that the feet of his hounds may not be blistered on the road.

[1] The famous stanzas in *Venus and Adonis* may fitly close this chapter.

And when thou hast on foot the purblind hare,
Mark the poor wretch, to overshoot his troubles
How he outruns the wind and with what care
He cranks and crosses with a thousand doubles:
The many musets through the which he goes
Are like a labyrinth to amaze his foes.

Sometime he runs among a flock of sheep,
To make the cunning hounds mistake their smell,
And sometime where earth-delving conies keep,
To stop the loud pursuers in their yell,
And sometime sorteth with a herd of deer:
Danger deviseth shifts; wit waits on fear:

For there his smell with others being mingled,
The hot scent-snuffing hounds are driven to doubt,
Ceasing their clamorous cry till they have singled
With much ado the cold fault cleanly out;
Then do they spend their mouths: Echo replies,
As if another chase were in the skies.

By this, poor Wat, far off upon a hill,
Stands on his hinder legs with listening ear,
To hearken if his foes pursue him still:
Anon their loud alarums he doth hear;
And now his grief may be compared well
To one sore sick that hears the passing-bell.

Then shalt thou see the dew-bedabbled wretch
Turn, and return, indenting with the way;
Each envious brier his weary legs doth scratch,
Each shadow makes him stop, each murmur stay:
For misery is trodden on by many,
And being low never relieved by any.

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VII.—For breeding purposes choose winter, and release the bitches from hard work;[1] which will enable them to profit by repose and to produce a fine progeny towards spring, since that season is the best to promote the growth of the young dogs. The bitch is in heat for fourteen days,[2] and the moment at which to put her to the male, with a view to rapid and successful impregnation, is when the heat is passing off. Choose a good dog for the purpose. When the bitch is ready to whelp she should not be taken out hunting continuously, but at intervals sufficient to avoid a miscarriage through her over-love of toil. The period of gestation lasts for sixty days. When littered the puppies should be left to their own dam, and not placed under another bitch; foster-nursing does not promote growth in the same way, whilst nothing is so good for them as their own mother's milk and her breath,[3] and the tenderness of her caresses.[4]

Presently, when the puppies are strong enough to roam about, they should be given milk[5] for a whole year, along with what will form their staple diet in the future, but nothing else. A heavy diet will distort the legs of a young dog, engender disease in other limbs, and the internal mechanism will get out of order.[6]

They should have short names given them, which will be easy to call out.[7] The following may serve as specimens :— Psyche, Pluck, Buckler, Spigot, Lance, Lurcher, Watch, Keeper, Brigade, Fencer, Butcher, Blazer, Prowess, Craftsman, Forester, Counsellor, Spoiler, Hurry, Fury, Growler, Riot, Bloomer, Rome, Blossom, Hebe, Hilary, Jollity, Gazer, Eyebright, Much, Force, Trooper, Bustle, Bubbler, Rockdove,

[1] Or, "Winter is the time at which to pair dogs for breeding, the bitches to be released from hard work, so that with the repose so secured they may produce a fine litter in spring."

[2] Lit. "this necessity holds." Cf. Aristot. *H. A.* vi. 20; Arrian, xxvii., xxxi. 3.

[3] Cf. Eur. *Tro.* 753, ὦ χρωτὸς ἡδὺ πνεῦμα.

[4] Cf. Arrian, xxx. 2; Pollux, v. 50; Columella, vii. 12, 12, ap. Schneid.

[5] See Arrian, xxxi.; Stonehenge, p. 264.

[6] Or, "the internal organs get wrong" (ἄδικα). Cf. *Memorabilia*, IV. iv. 5.

[7] Cf. Arrian, xxxi. 2; Oppian, *Cyn*, i. 443; ap. Schneid.

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Stubborn, Yelp, Killer, Pêle-mêle, Strongboy, Sky, Sunbeam, Bodkin, Wistful, Gnome, Tracks, Dash.[1]

The young hounds may be taken out to the chase at the age of eight months[2] if bitches, or if males at the age of ten. They should not be let loose on the trail of a hare sitting,[3] but should be kept attached by long leashes and allowed to follow on a line while scenting,[4] with free scope to run along the trail.[5]

As soon as a hare is found, provided the young hounds have the right points[6] for running, they should not be let loose straight off: the huntsman should wait until the hare has got a good start and is out of sight, then let the young hounds

[1] The following is Xenophon's list:—

Ψυχή = Soul.
Θυμός = Spirit.
Πόρπαξ = Hasp of shield.
Στύραξ = Spike of spear at the butt end.
Λογχή = Lance.
Λόχος = Ambush, or "Company."
Φρουρά = Watch.
Φύλαξ = Guard.
Τάξις = Order, Rank, Post, Brigade.
Ξίφων = Swordsman.
Φόναξ = Slaughterer, cf. "King Death."
Φλέγων = Blazer.
'Αλκή = Prowess, Victory.
Τεύχων = Craftsman.
'Τλεύς = Woodsman, "Dashwood."
Μήδας = Counsellor.
Πόρθων = Spoiler, "Rob Roy."
Σπέρχων = Hastener, "Rocket."
'Οργή = Fury, Rage.
Βρέμων = Growler, Roarer.
"Τβρις = Hybris, Riot, Insolence.
Θάλλων = Blooming, "Gaudy."
'Ρώμη = Strength, "Romeo."
'Ανθεύς—Blossom.
"Ηβα = Youth.
Γηθεύς = Gladsome.
Χαρά = Joy.
Λεύσσων = Gazer.
Αύγώ = Daybeam.
Πολύς = Much.
Βία = Force.
Στίχων = Stepping in rank and file.
Σπουδή = Much ado.
Βρύας = Gusher.
Οἰνάς = (1) Vine, (2) Rockdove. See Aristot. *H. A.* v. 13, 14; i. 3, 10; Ael. *N. A.* iv. 58. = *Columba livia* = *rockdove*, the colour of ripening grapes; *al.* οἰνάς = the vine.
Στερρός = "Stiff," "King Sturdy."
Κραυγή = Clamour. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 607 B.
Καίνων = Killer.
Τύρβας = "Topsy-turvy."
Σθένων = Strong man.
Αἰθήρ = Ether.
'Ακτίς = Ray of light.
Αἰχμή = Spear-point.
Νόης = Clever (girl).
Γνώμη = Maxim.
Στίβων = Tracker.
'Ορμή = Dash. So Arrian (*Cyn.* viii. 5) named his favourite hound.

For other names see Herodian, περὶ μον. λ. (on monosyllables), 12. 7; *Corp. Inscr.* iv. p. 184, *n.* 8319; Arrian, v. 6, xix.; Colum. vii. 12, 13. According to Pollux, v. 47, Xenophon had a dog named ἱπποκένταυρος (cf. *Cyrop.* IV. iii. 17).

[2] Cf. Pollux, v. 54; *al.* Arrian, xxv., xxvi.

[3] Pollux, v. 12.

[4] "The dogs that are trailing," Blane.

[5] See Stonehenge, "*Entering* of greyhound and deerhound, of foxhounds and harriers," pp. 284, 285.

[6] For points see the same authority: the harrier, p. 59; the foxhound, p. 54.

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go.[1] The result of letting slip young hounds, possessed of all the requisite points and full of pluck,[2] is that the sight of the hare will make them strain too violently and pull them to bits,[3] while their frames are as yet unknit; a catastrophe against which every sportsman should strenuously guard. If, on the other hand, the young hounds do not promise well for running,[4] there is no harm in letting them go. From the start they will give up all hope of striking the hare, and consequently escape the injury in question.[5]

As to the trail of a hare on the run, there is no harm in letting them follow it up till they overtake her.[6] When the hare is caught the carcass should be given to the young hounds to tear in pieces.[7]

As soon as these young hounds refuse to stay close to the nets and begin to scatter, they must be called back; till they have been accustomed to find the hare by following her up; or else, if not taught to quest for her (time after time) in proper style, they may end by becoming skirters [8]—a bad education.[9]

As long as they are pups, they should have their food given them near the nets, when these are being taken up,[10] so that if from inexperience they should lose their way on the hunting-field, they may come back for it and not be altogether lost. In time they will be quit of this instinct themselves,[11] when their hostile feeling towards the animal is developed, and they will be more concerned about the quarry than disposed to give their food a thought.[12]

[1] See Arrian's comment and dissent, xxv. 4.

[2] Lit. "which are at once well shaped and have the spirit for the chase in them."

[3] *Al.* "they will overstrain themselves with the hare in sight, and break a blood-vessel." See Arrian, xxxi. 4, *ῥήγνυνται γὰρ αὐταῖς αἱ λαγόνες.*

[4] Or, "are defectively built for the chase."

[5] Or, "will not suffer such mishap."

[6] Perhaps read *ἕως ἂν θέλωσι*, "as long as they choose." The MSS. have *ἕλθωσι.*

[7] See Stonehenge, p. 287, "*blooded*, so as to make him understand the nature of the scent"; *ib.* 284.

[8] *ἔκκυνοι*, cf. above, iii. 10; Arrian, xxv. 5.

[9] *πονηρὸν μάθημα, ib.* 9. [10] *ἀναιρῶνται sc. αἱ ἄρκυες*, see above, vi. 26.

[11] Or, "abandon the practice."

[12] See Stonehenge, p. 289 (another context): ". . . the desire for game in a well-bred dog is much greater than the appetite for food, unless the stomach has long been deprived of it."

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As a rule, the master should give the dogs their food with his own hand; since, however much the animal may be in want of food without his knowing who is to blame for that, it is impossible to have his hunger satisfied without his forming an affection for his benefactor.[1]

VIII.—The time to track hares is after a fall of snow deep enough to conceal the ground completely. As long as there are black patches intermixed, the hare will be hard to find. It is true that outside these the tracks will remain visible for a long time, when the snow comes down with a north wind blowing, because the snow does not melt immediately; but if the wind be mild with gleams of sunshine, they will not last long, because the snow is quickly thawed. When it snows steadily and without intermission there is nothing to be done; the tracks will be covered up. Nor, again, if there be a strong wind blowing, which will whirl and drift the snow about and obliterate the tracks. It will not do to take the hounds into the field in that case;[2] since owing to excessive frost the snow will blister[3] the feet and noses of the dogs and destroy the hare's scent. Then is the time for the sportsman to take the haye nets and set .off with a comrade up to the hills, and leave the cultivated lands behind; and when he has got upon the tracks to follow up the clue. If the tracks are much involved, and he follows them only to find himself back again ere long at the same place,[4] he must make a series of circuits and sweep round the medley of tracks, till he finds out where they really lead.[5]

The hare makes many windings, being at a loss to find a resting-place, and at the same time she is accustomed to deal subtly[6] in her method of progression, because her footsteps lead perpetually to her pursuit.

[1] Or, "If want in itself does not reveal to him the cause of his suffering, to be given food when hungry for it will arouse in him affection for the donor."

[2] Lit. "I say it is no use setting out with dogs to this chase."

[3] κάει. Cf. Arrian, xiv. 5.

[4] Reading ἥκοντα *sc.* τὸν κυνηγέτην . . . or if ἥκοντα, κύκλους [*sc.* τὰ ἴχνη], transl. "if the tracks are involved, doubling on themselves and coming back eventually to the same place."

[5] Or, "where the end of the string is."

[6] τεχνάζειν. Cf. Ael. *N. A.* vi. 47, ap. Schneid. A fact for Uncle Remus.

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As soon as the track is clear,[1] the huntsman will push on a little farther; and it will bring him either to some embowered spot[2] or craggy bank; since gusts of wind will drift the snow beyond such spots, whereby a store of couching-places[3] is reserved;[4] and that is what puss seeks.

If the tracks conduct the huntsman to this kind of covert, he had better not approach too near, for fear the creature should move off. Let him make a circuit round; the chances are that she is there; and that will soon be clear; for if so, the tracks will not trend outwards from the place at any point.[5]

And now when it is clear that puss is there, there let her bide; she will not stir; let him set off and seek another, before the tracks are indistinct; being careful only to note the time of day; so that, in case he discovers others, there will be daylight enough left him to set up the nets.[6] When the final moment has come, he will stretch the big haye nets round first one and then the other victim (precisely as in the case of one of those black thawed patches above named),[7] so as to enclose within the toils whatever the creature is resting on.[8] As soon as the nets are posted, up he must go and start her. If she contrive to extricate herself from the nets,[9] he must after her, following her tracks; and presently he will find himself at a second similar piece of ground (unless, as is not improbable, she smothers herself in the snow beforehand).[10] Accordingly he must discover where she is and spread his toils once more; and, if she has energy still left, pursue the chase. Even without the nets, caught she will be, from sheer fatigue,[11] owing to the depth of the

[1] "Discovered." [2] "Thicket or overhanging crag.

[3] *εὐνάσιμα*, "places well adapted for a form."

[4] *Al.* "many places suited for her form are left aside by puss, but this she seeks."

[5] L. Dind. emend. *οὐδαμοῖ*, "the tracks will not pass in any direction outwards from such ground."

[6] *Al.* "to envelop the victims in the nets."

[7] In reference, apparently, to § 1 above.

[8] Lit. "whatever the creature is in contact with inside."

[9] Cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 87, *ὅτῳ τρόπῳ τῆσδ' ἐκκυλισθήσει τύχης.*

[10] Or, "if the creature is not first suffocated in the snow itself.

[11] See Pollux, v. 50. "She must presently be tired out in the heavy snow, which balls itself like a fatal clog clinging to the under part of her hairy feet."

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snow, which balls itself under her shaggy feet and clings to her, a sheer dead weight.

IX.—For hunting fawns[1] and deer,[2] Indian dogs[3] should be employed, as being strong, large, and fleet-footed, and not devoid of spirit; with these points they will prove well equal to the toil.

Quite young fawns[4] should be captured in spring, that being the season at which the dams calve.[5] Some one should go beforehand into the rank meadowlands[6] and reconnoitre where the hinds are congregated, and wherever that may be, the master of the hounds will set off—with his hounds and a supply of javelins—before daylight to the place in question. Here he will attach the hounds to trees[7] some distance off, for fear of their barking,[8] when they catch sight of the deer. That done he will choose a specular point himself and keep a sharp look-out.[9] As day breaks he will espy the hinds leading their fawns to the places where they will lay them severally to rest.[10] Having made them lie down and suckled them, they will cast anxious glances this way and that to see that no one watches them; and then they will severally withdraw to the

[1] See Hom. *Il.* xxii. 189, x. 361; *Od.* iv. 336; Aelian, *N. A.* xiv. 14, xvii. 26; Geopon. xix. 5.

[2] ἡ ἔλαφος (generic, Attic)=hart or hind, of roe (*Capreolus caprea*) or red (*Cervus elaphus*) deer alike, I suppose. See St. John, *Nat. Hist. and Sport in Moray.*

[3] Of the *Persian* or *Grecian greyhound* type perhaps. See Aristot. *H. A.* viii. 28; Aelian, *N. A.* viii. 1; Pollux, v. 37, 38, 43; Plin. *H. N.* vii. 2, viii. 28; Oppian, *Cyn.* i. 413.

[4] See above, v. 14. I do not know that any one has answered Schneider's question: *Quidni sensum eundem servavit homo religiosus in hinnulis?*

[5] "The fawns (of the roe deer) are born in the spring, usually early in May," Lydekker, *R. N. H.* ii. p. 383; of the red deer "generally in the early part of June," *ib.* 346.

[6] ὀργάδας="gagnages," du Fouilloux, "Comment le veneur doit aller en queste aux taillis ou gaignages pour voir le cerf à veuë," ap. Talbot, *op. cit.* i. p. 331.

[7] Or, "off the wood."

[8] It seems they were not trained to restrain themselves.

[9] Or, "set himself to observe from some higher place." Cf. Aristoph. *Wasps*, 361, νῦν δὲ ξὺν ὅπλοις | ἄνδρες ὁπλῖται διαταξάμενοι | κατὰ τὰς διόδους σκοπιωροῦνται. Philostr. 784.

[10] See Pollux, v. 77; Aristot. *H. A.* ix. 5. Mr. Scrope ap. Lydekker, *R. N. H.* ii. p. 346, states that the dam of the red deer makes her offspring "lie down by a pressure of her nose," etc.

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side opposite and mount guard, each over her own offspring. The huntsman, who has seen it all,[1] will loose the dogs, and with javelins in hand himself advance towards the nearest fawn in the direction where he saw it laid to rest; carefully noting the lie of the land,[2] for fear of making some mistake; since the place itself will present a very different aspect on approach from what it looked like at a distance.

When his eye has lit upon the object of his search, he will approach quite close. The fawn will keep perfectly still, glued[3] as it were to earth, and with loud bleats suffer itself to be picked up; unless it happen to be drenched with rain; in which case, it will not stay quiet in one place. No doubt, the internal moisture of the animal congeals quickly with the cold[4] and causes it to shift its ground. Caught in that case it must needs be; but the hounds will have work enough to run the creature down.[5] The huntsman having seized the fawn, will hand it to the keeper. The bleating will continue; and the hind, partly seeing and partly hearing, will bear down full tilt upon the man who has got her young, in her desire to rescue it. Now is the moment to urge on the hounds and ply the javelins. And so having mastered this one, he will proceed against the rest, and employ the same method of the chase in dealing with them.

Young fawns may be captured in the way described. Those that are already big will give more trouble, since they graze with their mothers and the other deer, and when pursued retire in the middle of the herd or occasionally in front, but very seldom in the rear. The deer, moreover, in order to protect their young will do battle with the hounds and trample them under foot; so that capture is not easy, unless you come at once to close quarters and scatter the herd, with the result that one or another of the fawns is isolated. The effort implies[6] a strain, and the hounds will be left behind in the first

[1] Lit. "when he sees these things."
[2] Or, "the features of the scene"; "the topography."
[3] πιέσας (see viii. 8, above), "noosling, nestling, buried."
[4] "The blood runs cold."
[5] Or, "but it will give them a good chase; the dogs will have their work cut out."
[6] Lit. "after that violent effort."

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heat of the race, since the very absence of their dams[1] will intensify the young deer's terror, and the speed of a fawn, that age and size, is quite incredible.[2] But at the second or third run they will be quickly captured; since their bodies being young and still unformed cannot hold out long against fatigue.

Foot-gins[3] or caltrops may be set for deer on mountains, in the neighbourhood of meadows and streams and wooded glens, on cross-roads[4] or in tilled fields at spots which they frequent.[5] These gins should be made of twisted yew twigs[6] stripped of the bark to prevent their rotting. They should have well-rounded hooplike "crowns"[7] with alternate rows of nails of wood and iron woven in the coil.[8] The iron nails should be the larger, so that while the wooden ones yield to the foot, the others may press into it.[9] The noose of the cord which will be laid upon "the crown" should be woven out of esparto and so should the rope itself, this kind of grass being least liable to rot. The rope and noose itself should both alike be stout. The log or clog of wood attached should be made of common or of holm oak with the bark on, three spans in length, and a palm in thickness.[10]

To set the trap, dig a hole in the soil to a depth of fifteen inches,[11] circular in shape, with a circumference at top exactly corresponding to the crown and narrowing towards the bottom. For the rope and wooden clog likewise remove sufficient earth to let them both be lightly buried. That done, place the foot-gin deep enough to be just even with the surface of the soil,[12]

[1] Or, "alarm at the absence of the herd will lend the creature wings."
[2] Or, "is past compare"; "is beyond all telling."
[3] *ποδοστράβαι, podostrabai* so called. Cf. "the boot."
[4] *ἐν ταῖς διόδοις*, "at points where paths issue," or "cross."
[5] *πρὸς ὅ τι προσίῃ*, "against whatever they are likely to approach."
[6] Or, "should be woven out of *Smilax*"; "*Ebenholz*," Lenz; "*Ifs*," Gail.
[7] *τὰς δὲ στεφάνας εὐκ. ἐχ.* "having circular rims."
[8] *ἐν τῷ πλοκάνῳ* (*al.* *πλοκάμῳ*) = the plaited rope, which formed the *στεφάνη*. See Pollux, v. 32, ap. Schneid. and Lenz.
[9] *Al.* "so as to press into the foot, if the wooden ones yield."
[10] Or, "27 inches × 3."
[11] Or, "remove a mass of soil to the depth of five palms so as to form a circular hole corresponding in size with the rim above-named."
[12] Or, "like a door over the cavity, somewhat below the surface, flatwise"; *i.e.* "in a horizontal position."

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and round the circle of the crown the cord-noose. The cord itself and wooden clog must now be lowered into their respective places. Which done, place on the crown some rods of spindle-tree,[1] but not so as to stick out beyond the outer rim; and above these again light leaves, such as the season may provide. After this put a final coating of earth upon the leaves; in the first place the surface soil from the holes just dug, and atop of that some unbroken solid earth from a distance, so that the lie of the trap may be as much as possible unnoticed by the deer. Any earth left over should be carried to a distance from the gin. The mere smell of the newly-turned-up soil will suffice to make the animal suspicious;[2] and smell it readily she will.

The hunter should take his hounds and inspect the traps upon the mountains, early in the morning if possible, though he should do so also during the day at other times. Those set on cultivated land must always be inspected early, before the sun is up in fact,[3] and for this reason: on the hills, so desert is the region,[4] the creatures may be caught not only at night but at any time of day; while, on the cultivated lands, owing to their chronic apprehension of mankind in daytime, night is the only time.[5]

As soon as the huntsman finds a gin uprooted he will let slip his hounds and with cheery encouragement [6] follow along the wake of the wooden clog, with a keen eye to the direction of its march. That for the most part will be plain enough, since stones will be displaced, and the furrow which the clog makes as it trails along will be conspicuous on tilled ground; or if the deer should strike across rough ground, the rocks will show pieces of bark torn from the clog, and the chase will consequently be all the easier.[7]

[1] So literally, but really *Carthamus creticus*, a thistle-like plant used for making spindles (Sprengel ap. L. & S.), the *Euonymus europaeus* being our spindle-tree. Aristot. *H. A.* ix. 40, 49; Theocr. iv. 52.

[2] Lit. "if she once sniffs the new-turned soil the deer grows shy, and that she will quickly do." See Plat. *Laws*, 933 A; *Phaedr.* 242 C; *Mem.* II. i. 4.

[3] "Before the sun is up."

[4] Or, "thanks to the lonesomeness of the region."

[5] "It is night or never, owing to the dread of man which haunts the creature's mind during daytime."

[6] See vi. 20; "with view-halloo."

[7] Or, "along that track will not be difficult."

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Should the deer have been caught by one of its fore-feet it will soon be taken, because in the act of running it will beat and batter its own face and body; if by the hind-leg, the clog comes trailing along and must needs impede the action of every limb. Sometimes, too, as it is whirled along it will come in contact with the forked branches of some tree, and then unless the animal can snap the rope in twain, she is fairly caught; there ends the chase. But even so, if caught in this way or overdone with fatigue, it were well not to come too close the quarry, should it chance to be a stag, or he will lunge out with his antlers and his feet; better therefore let fly your javelins from a distance.

These animals may also be captured without aid of gin or caltrop, by sheer coursing in hot summer time; they get so tired, they will stand still to be shot down. If hard pressed they will plunge into the sea or take to water of any sort in their perplexity, and at times will drop down from sheer want of breath.[1]

X.—To cope with the wild boar the huntsman needs to have a variety of dogs, Indian, Cretan, Locrian, and Laconian,[2] along with a stock of nets, javelins, boar-spears, and foot-traps.

To begin with, the hounds must be no ordinary specimens of the species named,[3] in order to do battle with the beast in question.

The nets should be made of the same flaxen cord[4] as those for hares above described. They should be forty-five threaded in three strands, each strand consisting of fifteen threads. The height from the upper rim[5] (*i.e.* from top to bottom) should be ten meshes, and the depth of the nooses or pockets one elbow-length (say fifteen inches).[6] The ropes

[1] "From mere shortness of breath."

[2] For these breeds see Pollux, v. 37: for the *Laconian*, Pind. *Fr.* 73; Soph. *Aj.* 8; cf. Shakesp. *Mids. N. D.* iv. 1. 119, 129 foll.

[3] Or, "these hounds of the breed named must not be any ordinary specimens"; but what does Xenophon mean by ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γένους?

[4] *i.e.* "of Phasian or Carthaginian fine flax." See above, ii. 3.

[5] τοῦ κορυφαίου. See above, ii. 5.

[6] πυγών. The distance from the elbow to the first joint of the finger

= 20 δάκτυλοι
= 5 παλαισταί = 1¼ ft. + (L. & S.).

Herod. ii. 175.

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running round the net should be half as thick again as the cords of the net; and at the extremities[1] they should be fitted with rings, and should be inserted (in and out) under the nooses, with the end passing out through the rings. Fifteen nets will be sufficient.[2]

The javelins should be of all sorts,[3] having blades of a good breadth and razor-sharpness, and stout shafts.

The boar-spears should in the first place have blades fifteen inches long, and in the middle of the socket two solid projecting teeth of wrought metal,[4] and shafts of cornel-wood a spear-shaft's thickness.

The foot-traps should resemble those used for deer.

These hunts should be conducted not singly,[5] but in parties, since the wild boar can be captured only by the collective energy of several men, and that not easily.

I will now explain how each part of the gear is to be used in hunting.

The company being come to some place where a boar is thought to lie, the first step is to bring up the pack,[6] which done, they will loose a single Laconian bitch, and keeping the rest in leash, beat about with this one hound.[7] As soon as she has got on the boar's tracks, let them follow in order, one after another, close on the tracking hound, who gives the lead to

[1] *ἐπ' ἄκροις*. Cf. *ἀκρωλενίοις* (above, ii. 6).

[2] Reading *ἱκαναί*, *vid.* Lenz *ad loc.* and ii. 4.

[3] *Al.* "of various material." See Pollux, v. 20 ap. Schneid.

[4] Wrought of copper (or bronze).

[5] Lit. "There should be a band of huntsmen"; or, "It will take the united energies of several to capture this game." See Hom. *Il.* ix. 543, of the Calydonian boar:

> *τὸν δ' υἱὸς Οἰνῆος ἀπέκτεινεν Μελέαγρος,*
> *πολλέων ἐκ πολίων θηρήτορας ἄνδρας ἀγείρας*
> *καὶ κύνας· οὐ μὲν γάρ κ' ἐδάμη παύροισι βροτοῖσιν·*
> *τόσσος ἔην, πολλοὺς δὲ πυρῆς ἐπέβησ' ἀλεγεινῆς.*

"But him slew Meleagros the son of Oineus, having gathered together from many cities huntsmen and hounds; for not of few men could the boar be slain, so mighty was he; and many an one brought he to the grievous pyre" (W. Leaf).

[6] *κυνηγέσιον*, "a hunting establishment, huntsmen and hounds, a pack of hounds," L. & S. cf. Herod. i. 36; Pollux, v. 17. In Aristot. *H. A.* viii. 5. 2, of wolves in a pack; *v. μονοπεῖραι*. *ὑπάγειν*—"stealthily"?

[7] Or, "go on a voyage of discovery."

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the whole company.[1] Even to the huntsmen themselves many a mark of the creature will be plain, such as his foot-prints on soft portions of the ground, and in the thick under-growth of forests broken twigs; and, where there are single trees, the scars made by his tusks.[2] As she follows up the trail the hound will, as a general rule, finally arrive at some well-wooded spot; since, as a general rule, the boar lies en-sconced in places of the sort, that are warm in winter and cool in summer.

As soon as she has reached his lair she will give tongue; but the boar will not get up, not he, in nine cases out of ten. The huntsman will thereupon recover the hound, and tie her up also with the rest at a good distance from the lair.[3] He will then launch his toils into the wild boar's harbourage,[4] placing the nooses upon any forked branches of wood to hand. Out of the net itself he must construct a deep forward-jutting gulf or bosom, posting young shoots on this side and that within, as stays or beams,[5] so that the rays of light may penetrate as freely as possible through the nooses into the bosom,[6] and the interior be as fully lit up as possible when the creature makes his charge. The string round the top of the net must be attached to some stout tree, and not to any mere shrub or thorn-bush, since these light-bending branches will give way to strain on open ground.[7] All about each net it will be well to stop with timber even places[8] "where harbrough

[1] Reading *τῇ ἰχνευούσῃ*, or if vulg. *ἰχνεύσει*, transl. "set her to follow the trail, at the head of the whole train."

[2] Schneid. cf. Aristot. *H. A.* vi. 18; Plin. viii. 52; Virg. *Georg.* iii. 255, "ipse ruit, dentesque Sabellicus exacuit sus"; Hom. *Il.* xi. 416, xiii. 475; Hes. *Shield*, 389; Eur. *Phoen.* 1389; Ovid, *Met.* viii. 369.

[3] Lit. "accordingly recover the dog, and tie her up also with the rest," etc.

[4] *ὄρμους.* Lit. "moorings," *i.e.* "favourite haunts." Cf. *δύσορμα* below. *Al.* "stelle die Fallnetze auf die Wechsel," Lenz.

[5] *ἀντηρίδας.* See a note in the *Class. Rev.* X. i. p. 7, by G. S. Sale: "It can only mean long sticks used as stretchers or spreaders to hold up the net between and beyond the props." Cf. Thuc. vii. 36, 2.

[6] Or, "within the bay of network."

[7] *συνέχονται ἐν τοῖς ψιλοῖς al ῥ.* "Denn diese werden an unbestandenen Orten durch die Leine niedergezogen," Lenz; *συνέλκονται* conj. Schn.; *συνέρχονται al.*, "concurrunt," *vid.* Sturz.

[8] *τὰ δύσορμα*, met. from "bad harbourage." Cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 448; *Ag.* 194. Cf. Lat. "importunus," also of "rough ground."

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nis to see," so that the hulking brute may drive a straight course[1] into the toils without tacking.

As soon as the nets are fixed, the party will come back and let the hounds slip one and all; then each will snatch up his javelin[2] and boar-spear, and advance. Some one man, the most practised hand, will cheer on the hounds, and the rest will follow in good order at some considerable distance from one another, so as to leave the animal a free passage; since if he falls into the thick of them as he makes off, there is a fair chance of being wounded, for he will certainly vent his fury on the first creature he falls foul of.

As soon as the hounds are near his lair, they will make their onslaught. The boar, bewildered by the uproar, will rise up and toss the first hound that ventures to attack him in front. He will then run and fall into the toils; or if not, then after him full cry.[3] Even if the ground on which the toils environ him be sloping, he will recover himself promptly;[4] but if level, he will at once plant himself firm as a rock, as if deliberating with himself.[5] At that conjuncture the hounds will press hard upon him, while their masters had best keep a narrow eye upon the boar and let fly their javelins and a pelt of stones, being planted in a ring behind him and a good way off, until the instant when with a forward heave of his body he stretches the net tight and strains the skirting-rope. Thereupon he who is most skilful of the company and of the stoutest nerve will advance from the front and deliver a home thrust with his hunting-spear.

Should the animal for all that rain of javelins and stones refuse to stretch the skirting-rope, should he rather relax[6] in that direction and make a right-about-face turn bearing down on his assailant, there is nothing for it, under these circumstances, but to seize a boar-spear, and advance; firmly clutching it with the left hand forward and with the right behind;

[1] Or, "make his rush."

[2] Lit. "then they will take their javelins and boar-spears and advance."

[3] Or, "a pretty chase must follow."

[4] Or, "if within the prison of the net the ground be sloping, it will not take long to make him spring up; he will be up again on his legs in no time."

[5] Or, "being concerned about himself."

[6] *ἐναντιεῖς*. See Sturz, *s.v.*

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the left is to steady it, and the right to give it impulse; and so the feet,[1] the left advanced in correspondence with the left arm, and right with right. As he advances, he will make a lunge forward with the boar-spear,[2] planting his legs apart not much wider than in wrestling,[3] and keeping his left side turned towards his left hand; and then, with his eye fixed steadily on the beast's eye, he will note every turn and movement of the creature's head. As he brings down the boar-spear to the thrust, he must take good heed the animal does not knock it out of his hands by a side movement of the head;[4] for if so he will follow up the impetus of that rude knock. In case of that misfortune, the huntsman must throw himself upon his face and clutch tight hold of the brushwood under him, since if the wild boar should attack him in that posture, owing to the upward curve of its tusks, it cannot get under him;[5] whereas if caught erect, he must be wounded. What will happen then is, that the beast will try to raise him up, and failing that will stand upon and trample him.

From this extremity there is but one means of escape, and one alone, for the luckless prisoner. One of his fellow-huntsmen must approach with boar-spear and provoke the boar, making as though he would let fly at him; but let fly he must not, for fear of hitting the man under him. The boar, on seeing this, will leave the fallen man, and in rage and fury turn to grapple his assailant. The other will seize the instant to spring to his feet, and not forget to clutch his boar-spear as he rises to his legs again; since rescue cannot be nobly purchased save by victory.[6] Let him again bring the weapon to bear in the same fashion, and make a lunge at a point within the shoulder-

[1] Lit. "forwards the left foot will follow the left arm and the right foot the other."

[2] "Statum venatoris aprum venabulo excipientis pinxit Philostratus," *Imag.* i. 28, Schn.

[3] Or, "he will step forward and take one stride not much longer than that of a wrestler, and thrust forward his boar-spear."

[4] Cf. Hes. *Shield*, 387; Hom. *Il.* xii. 148: "Then forth rushed the twain, and fought in front of the gates like wild boars that in the mountains abide the assailing crew of men and dogs, and charging on either flank they crush the wood around them, cutting it at the root, and the clatter of their tusks waxes loud, till one smite them and take their life away" (A. Lang).

[5] ὑπολαβεῖν, "pick him up (and gore him)."

[6] "Safety can only be won with honour by some master-stroke of victory."

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blade, where lies the throat;[1] and planting his body firmly press with all his force.[2] The boar, by dint of his might and battle rage, will still push on, and were it not that the teeth of the lance-blade hindered,[3] would push his way up to the holder of the boar-spear even though the shaft run right through him.[4]

Nay, so tremendous is the animal's power, that a property which no one ever would suspect belongs to him. Lay a few hairs upon the tusk of a boar just dead, and they will shrivel up instantly,[5] so hot are they, these tusks. Nay, while the creature is living, under fierce excitement they will be all aglow; or else how comes it that though he fail to gore the dogs, yet at the blow the fine hairs of their coats are singed in flecks and patches?[6]

So much and even greater trouble may be looked for from the wild boar before capture; I speak of the male animal. If it should be a sow that falls into the toils, the huntsman should run up and prod her, taking care not to be pushed off his legs and fall, in which case he cannot escape being trampled on and bitten. *Ergo*, he will not voluntarily get under those feet; but if involuntarily he should come to such a pass, the same means[7] of helping each the other to get up again will serve, as in the case of the male animal; and when he has regained his legs, he must ply the boar-spear vigorously till she too has died the death.

Wild pigs may be captured further in the following fashion: The nets are fixed for them at the entrances of woody glens,[8] in coppices and hollows, and on screes, where there are outlets into rank meadow-lands, marshes, and clear pools.[9]

[1] *σφαγή*. Aristot. *H. A.* i. 14. 2. "Straight at the 'jugular.'"

[2] Or, "throwing his whole weight on the thrust, press home with all his force."

[3] Or, "but for the intervention of the two projecting teeth of the lance-blade." See the account of a passage of arms between Col. Pollok and a boar in his *Incidents of Foreign Sport and Travel*. There the man was mounted, but alone.

[4] Lit. "force his heavy bulk along the shaft right up to the holder of the boar-spear."

[5] *εὐθύς*, *i.e.* "for a few seconds after death."

[6] The belief is still current, I am told, in parts of India.

[7] *διαναστάσεις*, "the same methods of mutual recovery."

[8] *Al.* "at the passages from woodland lakes into oak-coppices."

[9] *ὕδατα*, "waters," lakes, pools, rivers, etc.

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The appointed person mounts guard at the nets with his boar-spear, while the others work the dogs, exploring the best and likeliest spots. As soon as the quarry is found the chase commences. If then an animal falls into the net, the net-keeper will grip his boar-spear and[1] advance, when he will ply it as I have described; if he escape the net, then after him full cry. In hot, sultry weather the boar may be run down by the hounds and captured. Though a monster in strength, the creature becomes short of breath and will give in from sheer exhaustion.

It is a form of sport which costs the lives of many hounds and endangers those of the huntsmen themselves. Supposing that the animal has given in from exhaustion at some moment in the chase, and they are forced to come to close quarters;[2] whether he has taken to the water, or stands at bay against some craggy bank, or does not choose to come out from some thicket (since neither net nor anything else hinders him from bearing down like a tornado on whoever approaches); still, even so, advance they must, come what come may, to the attack. And now for a display of that hardihood which first induced them to indulge a passion not fit for carpet knights[3] — in other words, they must ply their boar-spears and assume that poise of body[4] already described, since if one must meet misfortune, let it not be for want of observing the best rules.[5]

Foot-traps are also set for the wild boar, similar to those for deer and in the same sort of places; the same inspections and methods of pursuit are needed, with consequent attacks and an appeal to the boar-spear in the end.

Any attempt to capture the young pigs will cost the huntsman some rough work.[6] The young are not left alone,

[1] Or, "and proceed to tackle him."

[2] Reading προσιέναι [τὰ προβόλια]. [The two last words are probably a gloss, and should be omitted, since προσιέναι (from προσίημι) τὰ προβόλια = "ply," or "apply their boar-spears," is hardly Greek.] See Schneid. *Add. et Corr.* and L. Dind. *ad loc.*

[3] ἐκπονεῖν, "to exercise this passion to the full."

[4] Lit. "assume their boar-spears and that forward attitude of body."

[5] Lit. "it will not be at any rate from behaving correctly."

[6] Lit. "the piglings resent it (*sc.* τὸ ἀλίσκεσθαι) strongly"; *al.* "the adult (*sub.* τὸ θηρίον) will stand anything rather."

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as long as they are small; and when the hounds have hit upon them or they get wind of something wrong, they will disappear like magic, vanishing into the forest. As a rule, both parents attend on their own progeny, and are not pleasant then to meddle with, being more disposed to do battle for their young than for themselves.

XI.—Lions, leopards, lynxes, panthers, bears, and all other such game are to be captured in foreign countries—about Mount Pangaeus and Cittus beyond Macedonia;[1] or again, on Mysian Olympus and Pindus; or again, in Nysa beyond Syria, and upon other mountains suited to the breeding of large game.

In the mountains, owing to the difficulty of the ground,[2] some of these animals are captured by means of poison—the drug aconite—which the hunters throw down for them,[3] taking care to mix it with the favourite food of the wild beast, near pools and drinking-places or wherever else they are likely to pay visits. Others of them, as they descend into the plains at night, may be cut off by parties mounted upon horseback and well armed, and so captured, but not without causing considerable danger to their captors.[4]

In some cases the custom is to construct large circular pits of some depth, leaving a single pillar of earth in the centre, on the top of which at nightfall they set a goat fast-bound, and hedge the pit about with timber, so as to prevent the wild beasts seeing over, and without a portal of admission.

[1] Of these places, Mt. Pangaeus (*mod.* Pirnari) (see *Hell.* V. ii. 17), Cittus (*s.* Cissus, *mod.* Khortiatzi), N.W. of the Chalcidice, Mysian Olympus, and Pindus are well known. Nysa has not been verified hitherto, I think. Sturz cf. Bochart, *Hieroz.* Part I. lib. iii. c. 1, p. 722. Strabo, 637 (xv. 1. 7), mentions a Mount Nysa in India sacred to Dionysus, and cites Soph. *Frag.* 782—

> *ὅθεν κατεῖδον τὴν βεβακχιωμένην*
> *βροτοῖσι κλεινὴν Νῦσαν . . . κ.τ.λ.,*

but it is a far cry from Xenophon's Syria to India. Possibly it is to be sought for in the region of Mt. Amanus.

[2] Or, "the inaccessibility of their habitats."

[3] "The method is for the trapper to throw it down mixed with the food which the particular creature likes best."

[4] For the poison method see Pollux, v. 82; Plin. *H. N.* viii. 27.

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What happens then is this: the wild beasts, hearing the bleating in the night, keep scampering round the barrier, and finding no passage, leap over it, and are caught.[1]

XII.—With regard to methods of procedure in the hunting-field, enough has been said.[2] But there are many benefits which the enthusiastic sportsman may expect to derive from this pursuit.[3] I speak of the health which will thereby accrue to the physical frame, the quickening of the eye and ear, the defiance of old age, and last, but not least, the warlike training which it ensures. To begin with, when some day he has to tramp along rough ways under arms, the heavy infantry soldier will not faint or flag—he will stand the toil from being long accustomed to the same experiences in capturing wild beasts. In the next place, men so trained will be capable of sleeping on hard couches, and prove brave guardians of the posts assigned them. In the actual encounter with the enemy, they will know at once how to attack and to carry out the word of command as it passes along the lines, because it was just so in the old hunting days that they captured the wild game. If posted in the van of battle, they will not desert their ranks, because endurance is engrained in them. In the rout of the enemy their footsteps will not falter nor fail: straight as an arrow they will follow the flying foe, on every kind of ground, through long habituation.[4] Or if their own army

[1] See *Tales from the Fjeld*, Sir George W. Dasent, "Father Bruin in the Corner."

[2] Or, "Respecting the methods employed in different forms of the chase, I have said my say." As to the genuineness of this and the following chapter see L. Dind. *ad loc.*; K. Lincke, *Xenophon's Dialog. περὶ οἰκονομίας*, p. 132.

[3] Lit. "this work"; and in reference to the highly Xenophontine argument which follows see *Hellenica Essays*, p. 342; cf. *Cyrop.* I. vi. 28, 39-41.

[4] "For the sake of 'auld lang syne.'"

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encounter a reverse on wooded and precipitous ground beset with difficulties, these will be the men to save themselves with honour and to extricate their friends; since long acquaintance with the business of the chase has widened their intelligence.[1]

Nay, even under the worst of circumstances, when a whole mob of fellow-combatants[2] has been put to flight, how often ere now has a handful[3] of such men, by virtue of their bodily health[4] and courage, caught the victorious enemy roaming blindly in some intricacy of ground, renewed the fight, and routed him. Since so it must ever be; to those whose souls and bodies are in happy case success is near at hand.[5]

It was through knowledge that they owed success against their foes to such a training, that our own forefathers paid so careful a heed to the young.[6] Though they had but a scant supply of fruits, it was an immemorial custom "not to hinder[7] the hunter from hunting any of earth's offspring"; and in addition, "not to hunt by night[8] within many furlongs of the city," in order that the adepts in that art might not rob the young lads of their game. They saw plainly that among the many pleasures to which youth is prone, this one alone is productive of the greatest blessings. In other words,

[1] Or, "will place them on the vantage-ground of experts."

[2] Or "allies."

[3] Or, "a forlorn hope."

[4] *εὐεξίᾳ*, *al.* *εὐταξίᾳ*, "by good discipline."

[5] "Fortune favours the brave," reading *τὸ εὐτυχῆσαι* (L. D.); or if *τοῦ εὐτυχῆσαι*, (vulg.) "those whose health of soul and body is established are *ipso facto* nigh unto good fortune."

[6] *Al.* "looked upon the chase as a pursuit incumbent on the young."

[7] *μὴ κωλύειν* [*διὰ*] *τὸ μηδὲν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ φυομένων ἀγρεύειν.* The commentators generally omit *διά*, in which case translate as in text. Lenz reads *μὴ κωλύειν διὰ μηδὲν* (see his note ad v. 34), and translates (p. 61), "Dass man die Jäger nicht hindern solle, in allem was die Erde hervorbrächte zu jagen," "not to hinder the huntsmen from ranging over any of the crops which spring from earth"; (but if so, we should expect *διὰ μηδένος*). Sturz, *s.v.* *ἀγρεύειν*, notes "*festive*," "because the hunter does not hunt vegetable products." So Gail, "parce que le chasseur rien veut pas aux productions de la terre."

[8] Or, "set their face against night-hunting," cf. *Mem.* IV. vii. 4; Plat. *Soph.* 220 D: "*Stranger.* There is one mode of striking which is done at night, and by the light of a fire, and is called by the hunters themselves firing, or spearing by firelight" (Jowett); for which see Scott, *Guy Mannering*, ch. x. It seems "night hunting was not to be practised within a certain considerable radius, whereby the proficients in that art might deprive (lit. in order that they might not deprive) them (the young huntsmen) of their game."

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it tends to make them sound of soul and upright, being trained in the real world of actual things[1] [and, as was said before, our ancestors could not but perceive they owed their success in war to such instrumentality[2]]; and the chase alone deprives them of none of the other fair and noble pursuits that they may choose to cultivate, as do those other evil pleasures, which ought never to be learned. Of such stuff are good soldiers and good generals made.[3] Naturally, those from whose souls and bodies the sweat of toil has washed all base and wanton thoughts, who have implanted in them a passion for manly virtue—these, I say, are the true nobles.[4] Not theirs will it be to allow their city or its sacred soil to suffer wrong.

Some people tell us it is not right to indulge a taste for hunting, lest it lead to neglect of home concerns, not knowing that those who are benefactors of their country and their friends are in proportion all the more devoted to domestic duties. If lovers of the chase pre-eminently fit themselves to be useful to the fatherland, that is as much as to say they will not squander their private means; since with the state itself the domestic fortunes of each are saved or lost. The real fact is, these men are saviours, not of their own fortunes only, but of the private fortunes of the rest, of yours and mine. Yet there are not a few irrational people amongst these cavillers who, out of jealousy, would rather perish, thanks to their own baseness, than owe their lives to the virtue of their neighbours. So true is it that the mass of pleasures are but evil,[5] to which men succumb, and thereby are incited to adopt the worse cause in speech and course in action.[6] And with what result?—from vain and empty arguments they contract enmities, and reap the fruit of evil deeds, diseases, losses, death—to the undoing of them-

[1] Lit. "in truth and reality (not among visionary phantoms)."

[2] These words are commonly regarded as an addition; and what does τε signify?

[3] Or, "Here you have the making of brave soldiers and generals. Here in embryo are to be found your future soldiers and generals worthy the name."

[4] οὗτοι ἄριστοι: these the *prima virorum*, the true aristocrats.

[5] See *Hellenica Essays*, p. 371.

[6] "To depravity of speech and conduct" (whether as advocates or performers). See Aristoph. *Clouds*.

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selves, their children, and their friends.[1] Having their senses dulled to things evil, while more than commonly alive to pleasures, how shall these be turned to good account for the salvation of the state? Yet from these evils every one will easily hold aloof, if once enamoured of those joys whose brief I hold, since a chivalrous education teaches obedience to laws, and renders justice familiar to tongue and ear.[2]

In the one camp are those who, subjecting themselves ever to new toil and fresh instruction, have, at the cost of lessons and exercises painful to themselves, obtained to their several states salvation; and in the other are those who for the very irksomeness of the process choose not to be taught, but rather to pass away their days in pleasures unseasonable—nature's abjects these.[3] Not theirs is it to obey either laws or good instruction;[4] nay, how should they, who never toil, discover what a good man ought to be?—in other words, wisdom and piety are alike beyond their power. Subject to indiscipline, they have many a fault to find with him who is well educated.

Through the instrumentality of such as these nothing can go well; whereas every blessing which mankind enjoys has been discovered by the efforts of the nobler sort. Nobler, I say, are those who choose to toil.[5]

And this has been proved conclusively by a notable example. If we look back to the men of old who sate at the feet of Cheiron—whose names I mentioned—we see that it was by dedicating the years of their youth to the chase[6] that they learnt all their noble lore; and therefrom they attained to great renown, and are admired even to this day for their virtue—virtue who numbers all men as her lovers, as is very plain. Only because of the pains it costs to win her the greater

[1] Or, "bring down on themselves, their children, and their friends a string of misfortunes in the shape of diseases, losses, or even death."

[2] "For what does a chivalrous education teach save to obey the law, and to make the theme of justice familiar to tongue and ear?"

[3] Lit. "the sorriest of mankind these by nature."

[4] Or, "virtuous argument"; λόγοις ἀγαθοῖς, lit. "good words."

[5] Or, "of choice spirits; and who are the choice spirits?—Clearly those who choose to toil."

[6] Or, "that they made their first essay in hunting when mere boys, and from hunting upwards were taught many noble arts."

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number fall away; for the achievement of her is hid in obscurity; while the pains that cleave to her are manifest. Perchance, if only she were endowed with a visible bodily frame, men would less have neglected her, knowing that even as she is visible to them, so they also are not hid from her eyes. For is it not so that when a man moves in the presence of him whom he dearly loves,[1] he rises to a height above himself, being incapable of aught base or foul in word or deed in sight of him?[2] But fondly dreaming that the eye of virtue is closed to them, they are guilty of many a base thing and foul before her very face, who is hidden from their eyes. Yet she is present everywhere, being dowered with immortality; and those who are perfect in goodness[3] she honours, but the wicked she thrusts aside from honour. If only men could know that she regards them, how eagerly would they rush to the embrace of toilful training and tribulation,[4] by which alone she is hardly taken; and so should they gain the mastery over her, and she should be laid captive at their feet.

XIII.—Now what astonishes me in the "sophists," as they are called,[5] is, that though they profess, the greater part of them, to lead the young to virtue, they really lead them in the opposite direction Never have we set eyes on the man anywhere who owed his goodness to the sophists of to-day.[6] Nor do their writings contain anything[7] calculated to make men good, but they have written volumes on vain and frivolous subjects, in which the young may find pleasures that pall, but the essence of virtue is not in them. The result of this literature is to inflict unnecessary waste of time on those who look to learn something from it all and look in vain, cutting them off from wholesome occupations and even teaching what is bad. I cannot then but blame them

[1] Lit. "is beheld by his beloved." Cf. *Symp.* iv. 4; viii. 31.
[2] Lit. "in order not to be seen of him."
[3] Lit. "good with respect to her."
[4] Or, "to those toils and that training."
[5] Cf. Isocr. *Against the Sophists; Antidosis; Hel. Encom.*; Plato, *Sophist.*
[6] Who are these *οἱ νῦν σοφισταί*?
[7] Lit. "do they present writings to the world.'

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for certain large offences[1] more than lightly; but as regards the subject-matter of their writings my charge is, that while full of far-fetched phraseology,[2] of solid wholesome sentiments, by which the young might be trained to virtue, I see not a vestige. Speaking as a plain man, I know that to be taught what is good by one's own nature is best of all,[3] and next best to learn of those who really do know some good thing rather than of those who have an art to deceive. It may well be that I fail to express myself in subtle language,[4] nor do I pretend to aim at subtlety; what I do aim at is to express rightly-conceived thoughts such as may serve the need of those who have been nobly disciplined in virtue; for it is not words and names that give instruction, but thoughts and sentiments worthy the name.

Nor am I singular in thus reproaching the modern type of sophist (not the true philosopher, be it understood); it is a general reproach that the wisdom he professes consists in word-subtleties, not in ideas.[5] Certainly it does not escape my notice that an orderly sequence of ideas adds beauty to the composition:[6] I mean it will be easy to find fault with what is written incorrectly.[7] Nevertheless, I warrant it is written in this fashion with an eye to rectitude, to make the reader

[1] Or, "as to certain weightier matters gravely."

[2] *ῥήματα* = "words and phrases"; *γνῶμαι* = "moral maxims, just thoughts."

[3] "Being myself but a private individual and a plain man." According to Hartman, *A. X. N.* p. 350, "ridicule detorquet Hesiodeum":

οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος ὃς αὐτῷ πάντα νοήσῃ
ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ κἀκεῖνος ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται.

[4] *Al.* "in true sophistic style." The writer seems to say: "I lack subtlety of expression (nor is that at all my object); what I do aim at is to trace with some exactness, to present with the lucidity appropriate to them, certain thoughts demanded by persons well educated in the school of virtue."

[5] *ὀνόμασι*, "in names"; *νοήμασι*, "thoughts and ideas."

[6] Or, "I am alive to the advantage to be got from methodic, orderly expression artistically and morally."

[7] This passage, since H. Estienne (Stephanus) first wrote against it "huic loco meae conjecturae succumbunt," has been a puzzle to all commentators. The words run: *οὐ λανθάνει δέ με ὅτι καλῶς καὶ ἐξῆς γεγράφθαι* [*γέγραπται* in the margin of one MS.]· *ῥᾴδιον γὰρ ἔσται αὐτοῖς ταχὺ μὴ ὀρθῶς μέμψασθαι· καίτοι γέγραπταί γε οὕτως κ.τ.λ.* For *ταχὺ μὴ ὀρθῶς* (1) *ταχύ τι μὴ ὀρθῶς*, (2) *τὸ* (or *τὰ*) *μὴ ὀρθῶς*, have been suggested. It is not clear whether *αὐτοῖς* = *τοῖς σοφισταῖς* (e.g. "*it will be easy for these people to lay a finger at*

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wise and good, not more sophistical. For I would wish my writings not to seem but rather to be useful. I would have them stand the test of ages in their blamelessness.[1]

That is my point of view. The sophist has quite another—words with him are for the sake of deception, writing for personal gain; to benefit any other living soul at all is quite beside his mark. There never was nor is there now a sage among them to whom the title "wise" could be applied. No! the appellation "sophist" suffices for each and all, which among men of common sense[2] sounds like a stigma. My advice then is to mistrust the sonorous catch-words[3] of the sophists, and not to despise the reasoned conclusions[4] of the philosopher; for the sophist is a hunter after the rich and young, the philosopher is the common friend of all; he neither honours nor despises the fortunes of men.

Nor would I have you envy or imitate those either who recklessly pursue the path of self-aggrandisement,[5] whether in private or in public life; but consider well[6] that the best of men,[7] the true nobility, are discovered by their virtues;[8] they

once on blots, however unfairly"), or = *τοῖς συγγράμμασι* (*sc.* my (?) compositions; so *αὐτά*, § 7 below, *οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν αὐτὰ βούλομαι κ.τ.λ.*) (e.g. "*since it will be easy offhand to find fault with them incorrectly*") [or if *τὰ μὴ ὀρθῶς*, "*what is incorrect in them*"]. I append the three translations of Gail, Lenz, and Talbot. "Je sais combien il est avantageux de présenter des ouvrages méthodiquement écrits; aussi par la même sera-t-il plus facile de prouver aux sophistes leur futilité!" *ῥᾴδιον γὰρ ἔσται* [*sub.* *ἐμοὶ*] *μέμψασθαι αὐτοῖς ταχὺ* (*τὸ*) *μὴ* (*sous-entendu*) *γεγράφθαι ὀρθῶς* (Gail). "Zwar entgeht mir nicht, dass es schön sey die Worte kunstvoll zu ordnen, denn leichter wird ihnen sonst, schnell, aber mit Unrecht zu tadeln" (Lenz). "Aussi leur sera-t-il facile de me reprocher d'écrire vite et sans ordre" (Talbot). As if *ταχὺ μὴ ὀρθῶς* were the reproachful comment of the sophist on the author's treatise.

[1] *i.e.* "the arguments to be blameless at once and irrefutable for all time."

[2] L. Dind. cf. Eur. *Heracl.* 370, *ποῦ ταῦτα καλῶς ἂν εἴη | παρά γ' εὖ φρονοῦσιν;*

[3] *παραγγέλματα.* Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 480, "telegraph"; Lys. 121. 32; Dem. 569. 1, "words of command"; Dion. H. *De Comp.* 248, "instructions, precepts."

[4] *ἐνθυμήματα.*

[5] Or, "surrender themselves heedlessly to the ways of self-seeking." But the phraseology here seems to savour of extreme youth, or else senility.

[6] *ἐνθυμηθέντα.* Query, in reference to *ἐνθυμήματα* above?

[7] Reading *ἀνδρῶν.* For the vulg. *αὐτῶν* see Schneid. *ad loc.*, who suggests *τῶν ἀστῶν.*

[8] "Recognisable for the better."

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are a laborious upwards-striving race; whilst the base are in evil plight[1] and are discovered by their demerits.[2] Since in proportion as they rob the private citizen of his means and despoil the state[3] they are less serviceable with a view to the public safety than any private citizen;[4] and what can be worse or more disgraceful for purposes of war than the bodily form of people so incapable of toil?[5] Think of huntsmen by contrast, surrendering to the common weal person and property alike in perfect condition for service of the citizens. They have both a battle to wage certainly: only the one set are for attacking beasts; and the other their own friends.[6] And naturally the assailant of his own friends does not win the general esteem;[7] whilst the huntsman in attacking a wild beast may win renown. If successful in his capture, he has won a victory over a hostile brood; or failing, in the first place, it is a feather in his cap that his attempt is made against enemies of the whole community; and secondly, that it is not to the detriment of man nor for love of gain that the field is taken; and thirdly, as the outcome of the very attempt, the hunter is improved in many respects, and all the wiser: by what means we will explain. Were it not for the very excess of his pains, his well-reasoned devices, his manifold precautions, he would never capture the quarry at all; since the antagonists he deals with are doing battle for bare life and in their native haunts,[8] and are consequently in great force. So that if he fails to overmatch the beasts by a zest for toil transcending theirs and plentiful intelligence, the huntsman's labours are in vain.

I go back to my proposition then. Those self-seeking politicians, who want to feather their own nests,[9] practise

[1] "They are not famous but infamous"; "the bad fare as their name suggests" (*i.e.* badly).

[2] "Recognisable for the worse."

[3] Or, "what with private extortions and public peculation."

[4] *τῶν ἰδιωτῶν*, "laymen," I suppose, as opposed to "professional" lawyers or politicians.

[5] "What with their incapacity for hard work, their physique for purposes of war is a mockery and a sham."

[6] Cf. Plat. *Soph.*

[7] Or, "earns but an evil reputation in the world."

[8] "They are being bearded in their dens."

[9] Or, "Those people who would fain have the lion's share in the state."

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to win victories over their own side, but the sportsman confines himself to the common enemy. This training of theirs renders the one set more able to cope with the foreign foe, the others far less able. The hunting of the one is carried on with self-restraint, of the others with effrontery. The one can look down with contempt upon maliciousness and sordid love of gain, the other cannot. The very speech and intonation of the one has melody, of the other harshness. And with regard to things divine, the one set know no obstacle to their impiety, the others are of all men the most pious. Indeed ancient tales affirm[1] that the very gods themselves take joy in this work[2] as actors and spectators. So that,[3] with due reflection on these things, the young who act upon my admonitions will be found, perchance, beloved of heaven and reverent of soul, checked by the thought that some one of the gods is eyeing their performance.[4]

These are the youths who will prove a blessing to their parents, and not to their parents only but to the whole state; to every citizen alike and individual friend.

Nay, what has sex to do with it? It is not only men enamoured of the chase that have become heroes, but among women there are also to whom our lady Artemis has granted a like boon—Atalanta,[5] and Procris, and many another huntress fair.

[1] Or, "an ancient story obtains." [2] *Sc.* "of the chase."
[3] Or *ὑπάρχειν* = "it may be considered as given." Scheid. cf. *Pol. Ath.* iii. 9, *ὥστε ὑπάρχειν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι.*
[4] Lit. "that the things in question are beheld by some divinity."
[5] Atalanta, Procris. Cf. Callim. *Dian.* 209, 215.

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